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CAYUÁ CULTURE CHANGE: A STUDY IN ACCULTURATION AND METHODOLOGY

JAMES B. WATSON

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PREFACE

THE field work for the present monograph was done by the writer, in 101
the company of his wife and two Brazilian companions, in southern 114
Mato Grosso, Brazil, from June to December, 1943. The Cayuá group primarily 131
studied was the *colônia* of Taquapiri. This village is situated only a 101
short distance from the Paraguay frontier, between the Mato Grosso hamlets [621]
of União and Nhu Verá (see map). União, the larger, is about twenty miles [657]
from Taquapiri and has a population of several hundred people, a platoon
of soldiers, four or five small general stores, and the Indian Service post
"Benjamin Constant." This post includes the Taquapiri group in its jurisdiction.
Nhu Verá, the smaller of the two Brazilian hamlets, is on the Paraguayan
frontier itself. There is no church at either place, though there is a Brazilian [346]
Protestant missionary at the Indian post near União. The nearest Brazilian
"township" (*município*) of any size is Ponta Porã (1939 population estimated [797]
26,000), some 75 or 100 miles distant over oxcart-worn roads. The population
density of Ponta Porã, certainly greater than that of the region about Taquapiri, 161
is given as 0.9 per square kilometer in 1939. Taquapiri was selected from
three Cayuá groups visited because it appeared to present better opportunities 121
for study. Its small size, relative compactness, and greater predominance of
aboriginal practices recommended it over either of the other two places. [161]
In 1943 Taquapiri had about 175 persons, all told. Four months were spent
at Taquapiri, several weeks of superficial observations and anthropometric [114]
measurements having been made previously in the Cayuá groups at Dourados [12]
and União.

The present paper is not an attempt at a complete account of the Cayuá. 128
It is restricted to a study of Cayuá acculturation, primarily as evident at
Taquapiri. A separate monograph is being written which will provide as full [121]
an account of the culture as a whole as is possible with the field work accomplished.
Many points which are considered briefly in this study will thus be
treated in greater detail in the monograph. But in order to avoid excessive
footnoting, references to the forthcoming monograph will generally be omitted.

Grateful acknowledgement for having been enabled to do this work is 122
made to the Department of State, U. S. A., and the Divisão de Cooperação
Intelectual of the Ministério das Relações Exteriores of the Brazilian Government,
under whose joint sponsorship the writer was the recipient of an Inter-American
fellowship. Mr. George T. Colman, then United States Vice-Consul
in São Paulo, and Mrs. Colman helped our work in many ways. Thanks and
acknowledgement are also due the Museu Nacional of Brazil and its director,
D. Heloisa Alberto Torres. With these auspices Brazilian personnel were 114
included and the expedition was made a joint affair. Two young Brazilian
field workers, Nelson Teixeira and Eduardo Galvão, accompanied us and col-

114 laborated in the field; however, the data and conclusions herein do not include any of their material nor represent the product of discussing problems with them subsequent to the period of field work.

122 We are also indebted to the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios of the Ministério da Agricultura of Brazil for having helped to make our trip a success. The representatives of the Serviço in the region of our work were especially kind and helpful. Among these are Coronel Nicolau Bueno Horta Barbosa, Chéfe da Inspetoria Regional do SPI in Campo Grande, Mato Grosso, and Senhor Carvalho, *encarregado* of the Posto "Francisco Horta" at Dourados, our traveling companion and guide for a part of the trip, as well as our host at Dourados. Dayem Pereira dos Santos, *encarregado* of the Posto "Benjamin Constant" at União, and his wife, D. Balbina, time and again went out of their way to be hospitable.

128 For patient and constructive criticism of the manuscript itself many thanks are due to Professors Fred Eggan and Sol Tax of the University of Chicago. Bernard Siegel of Stanford University has also been kind enough to read and comment upon it. Virginia Drew Watson, my wife, has given generously of her time at every stage of research and writing and of her first-hand knowledge of the Taquapiri group.

122 For financial assistance in doing some of the background research and in writing the monograph the author is much indebted to the Department of Anthropology of the University of Chicago and to the Department of Sociology and Anthropology of Washington University. Mrs. Marjorie M. Tooker and Mrs. Marjorie S. Garroway efficiently and accurately typed different parts of the monograph at various stages of its development, and to them both thanks are due. Mrs. Bernice Krueger also helped with a number of final details.

The Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research of New York has generously assisted with the costs of publication, and the author is greatly indebted for this kindness.

JAMES B. WATSON

WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY
ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

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NOTE ON PHONETIC SYMBOLS

a, *í*, *u*, as in Italian.

e, as in English *met*.

o, terminal and unaccented, roughly as in English *hoe;* terminal and accented, as in English *bought*.

y, high, mid, unrounded vowel.

ão, as in Portuguese *nação*. The diacritic (˜) is regularly used to indicate nasalization.

Consonants have approximately their English values except *B*, a voiced bilabial fricative; *dj* or *j*, which ranges from the voiced fricative *z* of *azure* to the affricative initial of *James;* *ñ*, as in Spanish *cañón;* *š*, as in English *ship;* and ˀ, the glottal stop.

Where Cayuá words are like Tupian or Guaranian forms which have become a part of the Brazilian or Spanish-American vocabulary, standard spellings are used.

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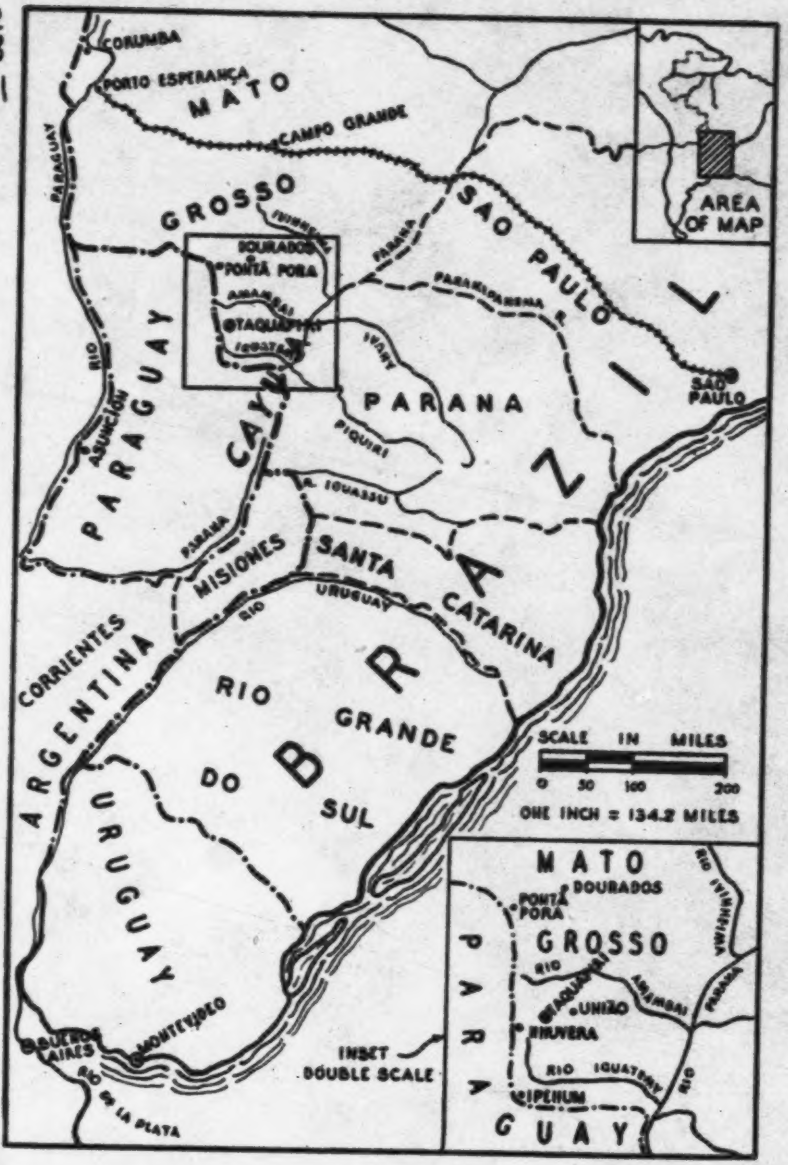
361


CORUMBA
PORTO ESPERANÇA
MATO
CAMPO GRANDE
GROSSO
PARAGUAY
DOURADOS
PONTÃ PORA
AMAMBAI
TAQUAPIRI
IGUATAMY
PARANA
SAO PAULO
PARANAPANEMA R.
IVAHY
PARANA
SAO PAULO
RIO
ASUNCION
PARAGUAY
CAYUA
PIQUIRI
R. IGUASSU
BRAZIL
PARANA
MISIONES
SANTA CATARINA
RIO URUGUAY
CORRIENTES
ARGENTINA
RIO GRANDE DO SUL
URUGUAY
BUENOS AIRES
MONTEVIDEO
RIO DE LA PLATA
INSET DOUBLE SCALE
SCALE IN MILES
0
50
100
200
ONE INCH = 134.2 MILES
AREA OF MAP
MATO GROSSO
DOURADOS
PONTA PORA
RIO
TAQUAPIRI
UNIÃO
AMAMBAI
RIO VINHEIMA
PARANA
NHUVERA
RIO IGUATEMY
RIO
IPEHUM
PARAGUAY

MAP OF SOUTHERN BRAZIL

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INTRODUCTION 101

THE Cayuá are a little known forest people of Tupi-Guarani stock. They have lived on the fringes of European settlement in the New World 177* for some three hundred and fifty years but, as far as we know, they were not extensively influenced by European culture during most of this time. The Spanish and Portuguese never came in sufficient numbers, or often enough, or close enough seriously to disturb the Cayuá culturally or geographically. At times, however, they came close enough to the Cayuá as to leave no doubt about the fact of white presence, and they did extensively affect other Guarani-speakers, neighbors of the Cayuá. We therefore have the case of a people "introduced" to European ideas gradually over a long period of time and without shock, having only a limited acquaintance with the invading culture for two or three centuries before direct or intensive impingement. The last fifty years almost certainly comprise the period of more intensive contact. (Undoubtedly such cases as the Cayuá will become more frequent in the literature as certain remote tribes are studied.) We should expect the result to be a much more satisfactory adjustment, with less internal cultural conflict for the Cayuá, when finally they faced the direct and unabating influences of the alien culture.

Early cultural influences from the whites were in a very real sense mediated or even "filtered" for the Cayuá through the cultures of other, missionized or peonized, aborigines who were in direct contact. The filtering effect of this cultural mediation was, moreover, increased because the intervening groups were apparently of much the same culture as Cayuá. The results of the adoption of a given trait, or the reaction to a new condition, would therefore tend to be substantially alike in both Cayuá and intervening groups. The Cayuá might in this manner receive alien influences already reworked, or partially so, into forms, uses, meanings, and functions immediately more harmonious to their culture. An analogy can be made with the position of Europeans who arrive in a colony where others before them have worked out many of the problems of life under colonial conditions. As a result of such filtering and because of their indirect contact with whites, the Cayuá might tend to adopt only the more viable of alien traits; they would in any case have a long and relatively unhurried period for adjusting to whatever new elements were presented.

Something of the same type of acculturational result as suggested for the Cayuá is also indicated by Nordenskiöld for the Ashluslay of the Chaco: [171]

> The positive influence of white culture is, generally speaking, greater in those parts where the Indians live far away from the White man. Thus the Ashluslay, who have preserved their independence, carry on ranching on a large scale, while some Mataco tribes, almost entirely dependent, have no cattle at all. Up to quite recent times, the

171
*177 Ashluslay were in the happy position of being able to derive advantages from the Whites without falling into irretrievable poverty.[1]

*177
121 There is an interesting question as to what might be the long-run differences between tribes of the same or near-identical culture, when one has been rapidly acculturated and the other more slowly and less intensively. An hypothetically ideal situation would be one in which all factors, except the rapidity and intensity of exposure, were equal—the same culture in the two aboriginal groups, the same alien cultural influences playing upon them in the same way, and the same ultimate amount of influence. Even in such a situation, however, there probably would still be some final acculturational differences between the two groups. Though such a situation is ideal, this problem is not entirely hypothetical. The Cayuá (at least those of Brazil) are now subject to intense influences, comparable to those experienced by the Guarani to the south in the early contact period; on the other hand, the modern survivors of the more southerly Guarani peoples apparently are now less intensively subject to white influences than their northern cousins. If we were to find significant differences in the amount and quality of acculturation in these two groups, it would suggest that rate of acculturation—all other things equal—was partly responsible.

127 Cayuá culture itself is negligibly reported in the literature of ethnography to date. Although this study refers directly to a single Cayuá village, some of its implications would hold for other Cayuá groups and possibly for closely related groups of Tupi-Guarani. Despite the fact that in the 16th and 17th centuries certain Tupi-Guarani tribes were probably among the best and most extensively reported native peoples in the New World—particularly the Coastal tribes of Brazil—relatively little has since been done with living Tupi-Guarani peoples. We have little idea of aboriginal variations among these related tribes, or of the changes resulting from their contact with European culture. Many hints remain unelaborated and many questions still unsolved, even for the rather well known tribes of early European contact. Since the Coastal Tupi are no more, we can only turn to present surviving Tupi-Guarani peoples for some of our answers.

It is necessary to give some indication of the kind and amount of data available for this study before describing the way in which the material was used. (The specific sources are indicated later on, when references are first made to them.) Pertaining directly to the Cayuá, past or present, only the meagerest of literature exists, as far as the writer was able to ascertain. No single definitive monograph is known for any period of their culture history, only a few short articles, some so general as to be of little use. References to the Cayuá in the earliest chronicles of the discovery and exploration of eastern South America are infrequent. The reason is apparent since the Cayuá

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[1] Cited in *Handbook of South American Indians*, 1946, 1: 212.

127 were not in the immediate path of conquest and for a long time remained apart from all but the slightest of contact with the Europeans. Coming down to the time of the Jesuits, 1610–1768, fleeting references can be found here and there to peoples who may have been Cayuá or closely related to them. Thus, for the early period of colonization there is little information which deals directly with the Cayuá, though the conclusion is apparently justified that much material on closely related peoples applies also to the Cayuá with little modification. Several early writers imply such a point of view, and Rengger's journal in the early 19th century seems to reinforce the idea. This authority makes quite evident the similarity of Cayuá to other Guarani cultures—a similarity by no means obscured even today. The period of the turn of the last century brings us several more short accounts pertaining to the Cayuá, including two by reputable ethnologists, von Koenigswald and Ambrosetti.

In connection with the type of white contact the Cayuá experienced, the available history of the area again provides little that is direct. It is possible to get some idea of what kinds of white men were there, roughly their numbers, and something of their motives. But there is little documentation to establish the nature, place, and time of the contact of these whites with Cayuá. With significant and tantalizing gaps, of course, the general trend of contact can be drawn. However, in part it is necessary to use the present state of Cayuá culture as evidence of past contact; in other words, the nexus, often missing from the historical record, can sometimes be supplied from the present ethnography. The result is very sketchy at best.

121 The ethnography of this people today is our most important source of information. Besides a description of the present culture, at least those cultural aspects which were our primary concern in the field, modern data can be coupled with some of the more meager clues from older documents to yield reasonably secure information about the Cayuá past. Moreover, with the present culture for a control, a certain use can also be made of comparative material from the better known Coastal Tupi and other Tupi-Guarani peoples of the early contact period. Thus much peripheral information of an earlier date, information not by itself acceptable in reference to the Cayuá, can be turned to fair profit.

The present discussion of acculturation is confined mainly to salient aspects of change in technology, ecology, economy, and social organization, while practically no attention is given to religion. One reason for this limitation is the amount and type of field work. On the other hand, the implications of our data did not seem to lead necessarily to a study of change in the religious sphere. In other words, we were able to carry on our work in a satisfactory manner without devoting a great deal of attention to religion—although not denying that related changes probably exist in that sector.

One point of concentration of the present work is economic change, including the effect on a non-commercial economy of the inception and growth of

[2] commercialism. In this, the relations of such economic changes to other aspects of culture are involved, but particularly relations to social organization. Not a great deal is known in detail about acculturative economic change of simple cultures and how it comes about.

In the field of the economic life of peoples who are living under contact few studies have been published. That the repercussions from the introduction of money into a non-pecuniary economy are widespread is recognized by all who have dealt with situations in which this had occurred, and some real attempts have been made to work out the resulting cultural realignments.[2]

The definition of acculturation adopted here is the now well nigh standard one:

> Acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups.[3]

This definition obviously does not restrict acculturational phenomena merely to the borrowing—unilateral or mutual—of alien culture traits. Such a restriction is, in fact, specifically disclaimed:

> It is . . . to be differentiated from diffusion, which while occurring in all instances of acculturation, is not only a phenomenon which frequently takes place without the occurrence of the type of contact between peoples specified in the definition given above, but also constitutes only one aspect of the process of acculturation.[4]

Diffusion and borrowing of culture traits, therefore, are only one aspect of the process of acculturation, but in spite of this, they are frequently taken to be the *primary* type of acculturative phenomena. Thus there is much emphasis on trait borrowing in the literature; other phenomena are often, by implication, treated as of less immediacy in the process of acculturation.

In this paper it is maintained that simple trait borrowing or diffusion is not necessarily the most important or primary factor in the acculturational process. Among the Cayuá, as will be shown later, what we may broadly term *conditions* were of great importance as factors of acculturation. One such "condition," for example, is the restriction in the size of Cayuá territory and the mobility of the people, as a result of the coming of whites in increasing numbers. This is certainly no "trait" of white culture in the orthodox sense and surely not one that the Cayuá "borrowed." Yet restriction of territory and mobility was a more effective causal agent in Cayuá acculturation than many borrowed European culture traits. Thus, apart from the more obvious trait-borrowing, a number of "conditions" resulting from the European advent have been referred to herein as primary factors in the acculturational process.

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[2] Herskovits, 1938, pp. 126–27.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 10. The definition was drawn up by Herskovits, Linton and Redfield.

[4] *Ibid.*

The present monograph is organized as follows. Chapter I provides the geographical, demographic, ethnological, and environmental setting. Chapter II summarizes what are known and what are presumed to be the facts of the aboriginal culture of the Cayuá, as well as such a reconstruction can now be made. Chapter III deals with the history of the region since the first years of white discovery, exploration, and settlement. In many respects, the facts of that history, as already noted, cannot now be specifically connected with the Cayuá. But their implications are certain enough to make the historical sketch of some general value. Chapter IV is concerned with a summary of Cayuá culture at the present time, emphasizing primarily points of difference from the aboriginal culture. 128

Chapter V, the analysis of Cayuá acculturational change, may be less conventional. Space and time factors are taken largely for granted and there is an almost purely configurational or structural examination of the material. This is done first by recognizing and listing the factors which have been called "acculturational causes." Some of these are of the familiar type, such as the presentation of traits which the indigenes borrowed from the alien culture. Others are not "traits" of either culture, in the usual sense, but are rather the conditions resulting from the coming of the whites, those which are significant to the nature of the two cultures. These conditions have had certain effects in the cultural development of the Cayuá, but might have affected another culture differently—or perhaps not at all. 121 128

The analysis continues with a list of "primary or immediate acculturational effects" and a separate list of "secondary or derived acculturational effects." The distinction here lies between developments in Cayuá culture which occurred in *immediate response* to acculturational causes and developments, ultimately related to the same acculturational causes, which were not immediate but only secondary. There are also some general temporal implications of the distinction: the secondary effects are derivative, as a rule, and do not appear in some cases for a considerable time after their initial causes are present in the situation. The distinction between primary and secondary effects is discussed in greater detail in Chapter V.

As far as its historiographical implications are concerned, the analysis attempted here is in some respects reminiscent of Kroeber's idea of what is important in history.[6] The de-emphasis of chronology as the cardinal feature or "value" of history and the "endeavor to achieve a conceptual integration of phenomena while preserving the quality of the phenomena" seem to characterize the present method. (On the other hand, there is not much doubt that certain aspects of the present approach, such as the prominent assessment of "cause," the analytical and schematic quality, and the emphasis on process, are not in keeping with what Kroeber had in mind.) However, the writing of Cayuá history *per se* is largely incidental to our present purposes.

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[6] Kroeber, 1935.

I. THE COUNTRY AND THE PEOPLE

LOCATION

101 THE Cayuá, frequently also called Caingua, and less frequently Cainguá,
Caiuá, Caaguá, and other similar designations,[1] are a Guarani-speaking
[657] people of southwestern Brazil and adjacent Paraguay. The groups on the
Brazilian side of the boundary are at present located on various posts and
reserves of the *Serviço de Proteção aos Índios*, a Brazilian federal agency. All
131 the Cayuá known to the author now live between the great Rio Paraná on
167 the east and the Rio Paraguay to the west; from Rengger's[2] and other accounts,
*175 this seems to have been approximately their traditional center of location
since the first entry of the white man into the region. Not long after
Rengger's Paraguayan sojourn (1818-1826), however, Cayuá territory was
extended farther to the north and also to the east of the Rio Paraná. Von
Ihering, at least, affirms that such a movement of the Cayuá from their traditional
home in Paraguay and southern Mato Grosso took place only in
relatively recent times. He dates their entry into the states of São Paulo
and Paraná as late as 1830-1850.[3] Von Koenigswald agrees substantially in
both details with von Ihering, stating that the original home of the Cayuá
has always been in northern Paraguay and southern Mato Grosso, but that
the advancing whites and the war disturbances of the beginning of the last
century forced large numbers of Cayuá to flee eastward where they took
shelter on the lower Paranapanema River.[4] This river is part of the east-to-west
boundary between São Paulo and Paraná, and to the northeast of present
[161] Cayuá territory. Von Koenigswald further concludes that the Cayuá must
have been numerous inasmuch as they formerly ranged as far north as the
Rio Peixe in the state of São Paulo and as far south as the Rio Iguassú. He
mentions that as early as 1855 there had been an attempt to establish a group
of Cayuá on a reservation at Loreto do Pirapó, Paraná, in the valley of the
Paranapanema. Sampaio[5] in 1890 reported numerous Cayuá in the valley
of the same river. The former extension of the Cayuá to the northeast of
their present territory thus seems well corroborated.[6]

*179 The Cayuá, or at least certain of them, were apparently canoe Indians
501 until some forty years or so ago—and some groups until more recently, according
to von Koenigswald, writing in 1908.[7] Sampaio also gives the impression

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[1] Godoi, 1905, refers to a group of "Paiaguá" whom he identifies with the Cayuá. There seems little justification for the name he uses. The Paiaguá proper were a Guaicuruan tribe of the Rio Paraguay. [2] Rengger, 1835. [3] Von Ihering, 1907, p. 216.

[4] Von Koenigswald, 1908. [5] Sampaio, 1890.

[6] Godoi, 1905, passim, makes a rather weak case for the long tenancy of the "Paiaguá" (Cayuá) in the region of Piracununga, in the state of São Paulo. Very likely there were Tupi-Guarani peoples in the region since early times, and possibly but not necessarily Cayuá or "Paiaguá." [7] Von Koenigswald, 1908, passim.

of a suitable use of the canoe by the Cayuá. This fact would further support the idea of a formerly greater Cayuá territory. Being canoe people, they would have been more mobile and would have been able to travel widely on the Paraná and its many affluents, although actual settlements of Cayuá may not necessarily have been known in São Paulo and Paraná before 1900. Some of the western branches of the Rio Paraná system are still familiar to the Cayuá of Brazil, especially the Rio Amambai and the Rio Iguatemy which flow through their present area.

What neither von Koenigswald nor Sampaio seems to realize fully is the reason why the Cayuá were found to the east of the Paraná at that time. The time and the place of this eastward expansion should be considered in the light of the religiously inspired migrations of the "Apapocuva-Guaraní," close neighbors and cultural and linguistic relatives of the Cayuá. It appears that some Cayuá shared in the messianic impulses which led certain of their congeners to abandon their homeland and start a migration toward the Atlantic. Thus the Cayuá may have been relative newcomers on the eastern side of the Paraná, except for whatever travel they formerly engaged in for fishing or hunting.

A map published in 1911 shows only a few small nuclei of Cayuá remaining in the regions east of the Paraná, indicating that they had at that time already withdrawn or largely disappeared from those parts. Today they are almost completely confined to what seems always to have been their traditional home, southern Mato Grosso and northeastern Paraguay.

NUMBERS

On the Brazilian side of the frontier the numbers of the Cayuá have been variously estimated, but to our knowledge, nothing like a census or creditable calculation exists. A rough count of the inhabitants of the more accessible and stable villages may exist in the files of the *Serviço de Proteção aos Índios* (hereinafter to be referred to as the SPI). But a certain number of Cayuá live scattered in the matas or forests with nothing like a close village grouping, and of these no good count has probably been made.

Reporting for the year 1911, the SPI had the following to say about the numbers of the "Caiuás":

> The Caiuás are, according to acceptable information, the most numerous tribe of the south of the state of Mato Grosso. They live on the right bank of the Ivinheima and in the region between this river and the Iguatemy. A large part of these Indians, in order to free themselves from the incursions of adventurers, have withdrawn to the interior

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Sampaio, 1890, passim. Unkel, 1914. Von Ihering, 1911.

More extensive information as to the names and location of various Guaraní-speaking groups of the area may be had by consulting Métraux, 1948, and Cadogan, 1950.

[illegible] lands of the state of Paraná, where they are [illegible]. With them live a small number of
[illegible] Guaraní.[illegible]

There is at present, and probably has been for a long time, some interchange of population between the Brazilian and Paraguayan Cayuá, even at great distances, but especially among those living near the frontier. A reasonable estimate for the Brazilian Cayuá in 1943 would be something between 2,000 and 4,000. Even less is apparently known about the numbers of the Paraguayan Cayuá.

WHO ARE THE CAYUÁ

[illegible] Etymologically, it is said that the name "Cayuá" is related to two Guaraní stems meaning "forest" (ka'a) and "man," or "inhabitant" ([illegible]), that is, "men of the forest."[illegible] If this is the case, the name suits them very well indeed. As far as forest dwellers are concerned, however, the name would not by any means be restricted to many other Tupí-Guaraní peoples as well. As applied specifically to the Cayuá, the name might have grown out of the practice on the part of the Europeans, during Conquest and mission times, to distinguish the "reduced Guaraní" (loosely speaking) from those who were not "reduced." The "reduced" Guaraní-speaking peoples, who lived in reductions, were in fairly close contact with the Europeans. They had early been brought to some sort of terms with the whites, either of peonage (in the encomienda) or of religious proselytism, in the latter case largely through the efforts of the Franciscans and Jesuits. The "non-reduced" speakers of Guaraní, on the other hand, had no fixed relationship with the Europeans other than, for the most part, avoidance. They lived in the less accessible forests, originally because these had been their home; subsequently they also sought out remote forests in order to avoid the Europeans. Hence, using a word in one of the native Guaraní languages, the invaders might well have called them "Cayuá" or "men of the forest."[illegible] This distinction, from which their present name allegedly derives, is particularly significant in considering the acculturation of the Cayuá.

Culturally, the Cayuá shared a great deal with their Tupí-Guaraní linguistic relatives. This similarity was generally recognized to such an extent, concerning the people closest to them, the so-called "Guaraní" of Paraguay

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[illegible] Estatística sobre o Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, 1943. Information kindly provided by Dr. Herbert Baldus, São Paulo, by letter.

[illegible] Watson, J. B., 1945, p. 2, fn.; p. 10, fn. 11.

[illegible] In the English translation of Dobrizhoffer, 1822, the original Latin expression which the author uses to refer to the non-reduced speakers of Guaraní is translated as "woods Indians." Dobrizhoffer dwells considerably upon the point of the close attachment of the Guaraní peoples of the Paraguay region to their forest habitat in contrast both to the open-country dwelling Abipones and other equestrian Indians, and to the reduced Guaraní. The latter the Jesuits apparently always sought to bring, at the cost of some perseverance, to missions established in open places.

and southern Guayra,[*] that most early writers appear to have thought it unnecessary to comment specifically upon the members of any of the groups which they vaguely designated as "Cayuá." They assumed that virtual cultural and linguistic identity existed among all of the Guarani-speaking peoples of the region. It is stated by early chroniclers that the Guarani-speaking Indians were divided into numerous, small local groups. These groups were said to take as designations the names of their particular local chiefs (?) or of the places where they lived. Other than that, it was held, there was nothing to distinguish one group from another, nor hence, "Cayuá" groups from "Guarani" groups. But after the European entry the two terms became fixed and they gradually acquired what was, in effect, acculturational significance. That is, "Cayuá" referred to Indians much less in contact with the whites than "Guarani." 101

Métraux,[*] and Klimek and Milke,[*] who statistically analyze Métraux's material, seem to find that there were more than likely some cultural differences, not only among the various coastal Tupi groups of central and northern Brazil and the southern linguistic affiliates, but also among so-called Guarani and Cayuá groups themselves. The actual picture is considerably obscured by several conditions. In the first place, contemporary writers of the earliest period of contact, as has been pointed out, tended to lump all the "Guarani" together. To them there was no particular cultural and linguistic distinction, even between "Guarani" of the south and "Tupi" of the coast and the north. (Indeed, the facts of European colonial politics and political geography largely serve to explain the different names given, not any actual appreciation by early writers of existing cultural differences.) In the second place, the early accounts of the different sections of the Tupi-Guarani family are not all from the same period. Thus some of the differences which are apparent to present-day readers of the literature may be a reflection of the different times at which the accounts were written. Whatever the real differences, the appearance of impressive similarities of culture and language, over large distances or long periods of time, among the Cayuá and other Tupi-Guarani peoples cannot be denied. It is likely, when the ultimate connections and migrations of the Tupi-Guarani have been worked out, that the Cayuá will be seen to have migrated to their present southern position, along with other related groups, from somewhere much closer to equatorial Brazil than their habitat during the last five or more centuries. This would go far toward explaining the marked cultural similarities which have so impressed both early and contemporary writers. But it would not deny the possibility of significant differences among Guarani-speakers at the time of the Conquest. 101 174 101 131 167 174

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[*] The territory today roughly comprised by the Brazilian states of Paraná and Santa Catarina.

[*] Métraux, 1928. [*] Klimek and Milke, 1935.

321 In a discussion where we must consider the various Guarani-speaking peoples of the Paraguayan area, it will help reduce the confusion of tribal and linguistic names to recall the various ways in which the term "Guarani" has been used:

1. "Guarani" has a purely linguistic sense in which it is still used today, often in the compound expression "Tupi-Guarani." In this sense it included at least every Guarani-speaking group of the area of the Platine provinces of Spain. Thus the Cayuá are "Guarani." Whether any important linguistic distinctions actually followed the lines of usage of the two terms, "Tupi" and "Guarani," is doubtful.

2. "Guarani" was also the original general tribal or ethnic term for nearly all the groups of Indians of this speech who were to be encountered in the Spanish regions of South America. Nearly all other known Indians of this linguistic family were to be found in Brazil and uniformly received the general tribal and linguistic designation, "Tupi." It may be seriously doubted whether the distinction between "Tupi" and "Guarani" reflected any fundamental, dual cultural or linguistic division nearly as much as it did the mere fact that part of the members of this linguistic family happened to live in Spanish and the rest in Portuguese colonial domains. It is certainly not implied by this that there were no differences among the various groups of Tupi-Guarani, politically, culturally, or linguistically. But the two terms in the early accounts cannot be taken as necessarily expressive of any such differences. It very frequently occurred that the Tupi-Guarani peoples took sides in the struggles between the European colonial states. Thus some of the Tupi tribes were early allies of the French on the Brazilian coasts while others were cohorts of the Portuguese. Later, of course, the struggle reduced itself to one between the Spanish and the Portuguese, in which the "Guarani" were sometimes the cohorts of the Spanish and the "Tupi" those of the Lusitanians.

3. In the mission period, as has already been mentioned, "Guarani" came to have a more restricted meaning as a tribal term. It was distinct from "Cayuá," and also from other non-reduced tribes, such as Chiriguano, who were "Guarani" only in the larger cultural sense and in the linguistic sense. Here again the distinction and the terminology were primarily European since "Cayuá" had no necessary bearing on indigenous cultural or political divisions, as far as our evidence goes, but only on the fact that these Indians were outside the European pale. "Guarani" specifically came to refer to those Indians of Guarani speech who lived in the Jesuit missions—the "missions of the Guarani." Whether the terminological lines so drawn did incidentally reflect indigenous cultural differences among these Indians is something we shall probably never know.

4. Present use is made of the term "Guarani" to refer to certain tribes in the southern Brazilian and Paraguayan area. Thus Nimuendajú speaks

of "Apapocuva-Guaraní," at the same time recognizing as distinct Cayuá 101
and other groups of related speech. It may be impossible ever to discover if these present "Guaraní" groups have any significant and exclusive relation to the Guaraní-speakers who were formerly missionized or otherwise reduced (meaning No. 2). Are these "Guaraní," for example, the particular descendants of formerly reduced Indians while others, like the Cayuá, are not? Müller, discussing those present Guaraní-speaking groups in eastern Paraguay, which he says are culturally and tribally distinguishable, the "Paĩ," the "Chiripá," and the "Mbya," comments that by the Paraguayans only the last are called "Caaygua" (Cayuá), while the first two proudly call themselves "Guaraní."[illegible]

Some of the confusion which now exists as a result of the ambiguous usage of tribal and linguistic terms in reference to the indigenes of Guaraní speech in southern Brazil and Paraguay may be erased in the following chapters.

THE SOCIAL SETTING

The principal occupation of the white settlers of the southern Mato Grosso region is the production of *herva mate* (*Ilex paraguayensis*). Some cattle are also raised, and there are certain other pursuits. The area is very sparsely settled by Paraguayans (some of whom speak no Spanish or Portuguese), Brazilians, and Argentines; the last-named are mostly from the provinces of Misiones or Corrientes. Non-Indians as a group are definitely set apart from Indians. Their culture, to the knowledge of the writer, has not been thoroughly studied, but some Argentine writers consider that they possess a variety of the so-called "Gaucho" culture.[illegible]

For the most part the non-Indian settlers eke out a meager existence either producing small quantities of *mate* or working for larger producers in one way or another. The poor grade of cattle raised throughout the region are allowed to roam at large most of the time with an occasional roundup for checking, counting, and driving to market. Most families, whatever their primary occupation, raise almost all of their own food, in slash-and-burn fields (*roças*) where agricultural methods are little, if any, different from those employed by the Cayuá.[illegible]

A few more fortunate individuals manage to become moderately successful cattlemen or producers or dealers in *mate* and other raw commodities, often combining this effort with a limited sort of general store or trading post arrangement (*bolicho*) on the retail side. These *bolichos* sometimes do a sufficient volume of business, for barter and cash, to constitute a sole enterprise and

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[illegible] Müller, 1934-35, 29: 179-80.

[illegible] In Argentina this is considered an outgrowth of assimilation between the indigenous Indian—largely Guaraní-speaking—population and the early colonial frontier settlers of these parts.

[illegible] The reason for similarity between white and Indian agriculture in Brazil is one of assimilation largely on the part of the whites. Cf. Watson, V. D., 1945.

000 enable their owners to establish themselves comfortably in a village or populated place. (There are four or five *bolichos* in União.) Some *bolichos*, especially in villages, are quite well stocked with the goods of the region, saddlery, hand tools, staple commodities, kitchen utensils, and the like. But frequently the *bolicho* is located in the open country at the residence of its proprietor and is merely a small additional source of income for a slightly more enterprising than usual individual, who still maintains his own *roça* and is a small producer of *mate*.

A transient form of peonage with both white (usually Paraguayan) and
Indian workers is an established method of recruiting the labor employed by
the more prosperous. Even some who are not so prosperous manage to get
241 hold of an Indian from time to time to work in the *roça* or in the *mate* grove.
233 The Cayuá, either as peons or in their own right, rarely or never work with
cattle.

554 The use of the horse and the prestige value of saddles, spurs, whips, boots,
guns, and riding attire are well developed among the whites, whether they
233 work primarily as cattlemen or not. The Indians employ few of these symbols
241 of prestige, although some influences in this respect are to be observed among
648 them. Practically none of the Cayuá owns a horse, and their way of life is
predominantly agricultural; agriculture, on the other hand, is always considered secondary and subsidiary in prestige for the whites. There is little white development of cash-cropping other than *mate;* the agricultural base is almost exclusively one of subsistence farming. Non-Indians, with few exceptions, tend to avoid if possible any extensive direct concern with agriculture by employing peons; *mate*, cattle, and horses are the most important things for them.[illegible]

000 Non-Indian social structure is probably not greatly different from that of frontier and rural Brasilian society elsewhere. There is great emphasis on the family, kin ties are more important than any others, and intimate relations with non-relatives closely resemble kinship relations. A form of *compadre* usage prevails, even to the extent that almost everyone living within a radius of ten miles or so (apparently, and with whom one speaks at all cordially) is called "*compadre*," whether he is actually a godparent to one's children or not. Thus the term is to some extent synonymous with "neighbor."

The Catholic religion is nominal, but there is no resident priest or missionary in either Nhu Verá or União. "Common law" marriages are fairly frequent, more so among poorer people who cannot pay what the priest asks, especially since it would be necessary to have a priest come from some distance.

[illegible] *Ibid.*

THE PHYSICAL SETTING

The zones in which the Cayuá of Brazil live, including those of Taquapiri, can be divided roughly into three types according to plant cover. The first, which is called *campo cerrado*, or simply *cerrado*, is described as "a savanna with scattered thickets of deciduous scrub forest."[27] The trees are usually small, gnarled and twisted, and often widely enough scattered and open so that grasses fit for grazing grow among them. Indeed, the vagrant cattle of the region graze in this type of terrain as well as in the *campo limpo* or *chapadão*. Here one refers to the open expanses of grasslands which largely follow the divide between the waters of the Paraná and Paraguay rivers, south from the town of Campo Grande to the Paraguayan frontier. Smaller stretches of grasslands are scattered among the *cerrados* and the *matas* (forests), the latter being the third type of vegetation which characterizes the Cayuá country. 137

The *matas* are conposed of enormous trees, including the *perobas*, *cedras*, and other great hardwoods, and close growing vegetation; it is impossible to confuse the *mata* with the *cerrado* type of country. The *matas* are usually dense, and the trees are high enough so that one is out of the sun during the day and has a feeling of cool darkness. It is with the *matas* that we shall be primarily concerned in considering the Cayuá. The forest is their home par excellence, and their feeling of ease in it finds expression in many interesting ways.

As for the soils, as James[28] suggests, "the various kinds of grass-forest mixture have an important bearing on the physical quality of the land and its potential value for agricultural settlement." This principle is tacitly recognized by the Indians. For the Cayuá of Taquapiri the only soils worth farming are, in the first place, soils within the *mato*,[29] and, secondly, *mato* soils in which certain kinds of growth have developed, notably *taquara* (a type of bamboo) and a certain type of fern (*amambai*). In the immediate neighborhood of Taquapiri the *campo* and *cerrado* soils are generally light colored, sandy, and probably poor, while the *mato* soils are usually reddish, with considerable humus, and richer. 134 241

The location of the Cayuá in Mato Grosso and neighboring Paraguay is almost exclusively on the Rio Paraná side of the divide between that river and the Rio Paraguay. Numerous rivers large enough to be navigable drain this region into the Paraná. Two of these rivers, the Iguatemy and the Amambai, have their sources quite near to the Cayuá *colônia* of Taquapiri. Both enter 133

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[27] James, 1942, p. 505. [28] *Ibid.*

[29] The distinction in Brazilian Portuguese between *mata* and *mato* is not very clear to the writer, but the former seems to refer more to a specific forest and the latter in general to forested or wooded country.

133 the immense Rio Paraná some distance above its spectacular plunge over the
great escarpment at Sete Quedas.

According to the meager data available on the topography of the region,
the Cayuá of Mato Grosso live on plains and hilly uplands, varying between
132 some 1,000 to 1,500 feet above sea level. The climate is not often disagreeable,
even for the newcomer, and has stimulating features.[30] It is characterized by a
wet and a dry season. The dry season comes in the winter months, and its
height is about July. For a few days during these months, although it does
not snow (for lack of moisture), it is often bitterly cold, especially for the
type of habitation and clothing common in the area to Indian and white
alike. Occasionally in the morning the ground is covered with hoar frost. At
the height of the rainy season, in December and January, the rain sometimes
falls so fast that it is not readily soaked up by the ground; ponds are quickly
formed in the low places, and roaring streams overflow their banks. Water
holes and bogs appear during the rainy months where only dried mud was
before. The frogs and other life forms seem to burst forth simultaneously.
This is the growing season for the Cayuá planter.

137 The more general aspects of the flora of the region have been mentioned
above in speaking of the three broad types of plant cover. The many varieties
of trees to be found in their environment are the most important wild flora
[411] for the Cayuá. There are woods of extreme hardness for arrow points, flexible
woods for bows, straight canes for arrow shafts,[31] *mate* trees, which the Cayuá
[342] also now use on a small scale, and many types of lianas and plants with
[417] strong, fibrous cortices for tieing, especially used in building houses and
[283] fences. The *caraguatá* cactus provides a good fiber for cordage and for certain
textiles. There are numerous bushes and trees bearing wild fruits, and not to
[342] be overlooked is the *taquára*—strictly *taquarussú*—a large bamboo with long,
stout, straight trunks which serve the Cayuá admirably for many purposes
[262] including construction of houses, though never for fuel. The *pindó* palm provides
leaves for cover, fibers for lines, and fruit, and its heart is, or was formerly,
used to make an edible pounded meal.

136 The fauna of the Cayuá region include deer, *capiwara*, *anta* (*Tapirus americanus*,
Briss.), *paca* (*Coelogenus paca*), *caiteté* (*Tajassu tajassu*, Lin.), armadilloes,
coati, and various smaller mammals. Several kinds of jaguar (from
Tupi-Guarani *djaguaretê*) and a wild dog, the *guará* (*Canis jubatus*), also
roam the woods. Among the birds are included parrots, parroqueets, toucans
(Tupi-Guarani *tukã'*), vultures, several sorts of heron, and the *arapônga*
(Portuguese: *Ferreiro do mato*), a never-to-be-forgotten, dull-colored little

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[30] The cold of the winter seemed to annoy our Brazilian colleagues, both from warm Rio, more than the considerable heat of the summer troubled us North Americans.

[103] [31] One of these canes, the *taquapí* (*caña de Castilla*), gives its name to Taquapiri, the village studied.

bird, no more than 6 or 8 inches long. He has a ringing cry for all the world 136 like a sharp hammer blow on a piece of steel pipe, followed by sounds incredibly like a large file being applied to the same material.[illegible] The emu and a number of smaller field birds are common. Snakes, lizards, and frogs abound. Alligators are to be found along the larger water courses. Fish of large size are encountered only where the streams broaden out into rivers and are relatively scarce in much of the southern Mato Grosso Cayuá region. One should not forget to mention the insects. They include, besides a large-sized component of the mosquito and fly-like biting insects, fleas, foot-burrowers (*bicho de pé*), *carrapatos*, a clinging, bloodsucking bug, and numerous other representatives of the phylum Arthropoda, not by any means restricted to this part of Brazil.

It would not be in contrast to our knowledge of other primitive peoples 82 to point out that the Cayuá know their physical environment in great and minute detail, its flora, its fauna, its weather, its water courses and topography. An indirect testimony of the extent of Cayuá nature lore is the enormous contribution of the Tupí-Guaraní languages to the general Brazilian vocabulary, not only of place names, but also of the vulgar names of Brazilian plants and animals. The Cayuá have apparently lost little or none of their store of this knowledge since aboriginal times.

[illegible] This relatively lengthy note on the *araponga* does not reflect his importance to the Cayuá nearly so much as the amazement of the writer.

II. CAYUÁ CULTURE IN THE PAST

121 IN this account of Cayuá culture in the past, "the past" is taken as roughly the time of the European entry, before any considerable alien influence was felt by the Guarani-speakers of the Paraguayan area. The description is partly based on comparative material, that is, contemporary accounts of other Guarani groups; there is no extensive contemporary account of the Cayuá but only random references to them or to peoples who might be Cayuá. It is almost certain, too, that the term "Cayuá" (or its equivalents) was not being widely applied in the early colonial period to the forebears of the people in question.

The present description also depends in part on a few, brief, later accounts,
127 Rengger,[23] at the beginning of the 19th century, and von Koenigswald,[24]
121 Sampaio,[25] and Ambrosetti[26] at the turn of the century. Müller[27] and Strelnikov,[28] whose work was done in the early 20th century, are also of some help in reconstruction. Rengger, in particular, and von Koenigswald and Sampaio to a lesser extent, all bear out the contention of great basic similarity between the Cayuá people and their Guarani-speaking neighbors. This certainly puts us on safer ground as far as being able to use comparative material for reconstructing Cayuá culture. It is possible to pick up an early account, even of the coastal Tupi of Brazil, and go down the list of cultural elements, checking off the majority which appear to have been in a general sense common among Cayuá. In the opinion of the writer, due caution has been exercised where aspects of Cayuá aboriginal culture were probably similar to other Tupi-Guarani cultures but where we do not have sufficient material to judge with finality.

ECONOMY

174* The Cayuá, like their relatives, were primarily agricultural people, as
early as we have any information about them. They practiced much the
241 same type of tropical forest agriculture as the Tupinambá groups of the
433 Brazilian coast and must have been nearly identical in agriculture with their
Guarani neighbors in Paraguay. Métraux has argued that the agriculture
of the Tupi-Guarani peoples in the Paraguay region was somewhat different,
as to the importance of the various plants basic to it, from that of the more
174* northerly tribes near the equator.[29] It has been said, for instance, that corn
was more important to the southern groups and manioc to the northern groups,
243 because of environmental differences. However, such differences in agriculture
244 were usually of degree, though perhaps significant. Manioc was, from every
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[23] Rengger, 1835. [24] Von Koenigswald, 1908. [25] Sampaio, 1890.

[26] Ambrosetti, 1894 [27] Müller, 1934-35.

[28] Strelnikov, 1928. [29] Métraux, 1928, pp. 65 ff.; p. 102.

174*
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indication, quite important to the southern groups and to the Cayuá.[40] 244
Sweet potatoes may have been more important in the south than in the 433
equatorial north, if we consider only the Tupi-Guarani. 184

Far more impressive than the differences of degree of use of various 24
plants, both wild and cultivated, are the similarities of kind. The list of plants
for the north is surprisingly close to that for the south, and it would be interesting 184
to know to what extent the similarity may be explained on the grounds
of cultural diffusion and to what extent on grounds of climatic and phytogeographic
similarities. The use of wild plants for food is also parallel with the 174*
north although plant geography is obviously more directly influential here. 245

Manioc, corn, sweet potatoes, beans, squashes, peanuts, *cará* (*Dioscorea* 244
sp.), *mangára* (*Aroidea sp.*), *mbakuká* (a *leguminosa*), watermelons, bananas (?) 243
pineapples, and papaya were among the most important crops. Manioc, corn,
and sweet potatoes were the primary crops, to judge somewhat but not
solely by the present. Several varieties of manioc were recognized, and probably
both the bitter and the sweet were known, although it does not appear
that bitter manioc was used to the same extent in the south that it was in the
north. A number of varieties of both corn and potatoes were recognized. Corn 174*
was distinguished by whether it was the flinty type or the soft, starchy kind 243
and, within the latter class, also by color. The Cayuá, presumably in the past
as at present, attempted to keep separate their plantations of different kinds
of corn within the limits of their crude appreciation of the manner of intermixture.
Sweet potatoes, like corn, were distinguished by color (of the pulp), 174*
and about seven kinds were thus named. They range from the whitish, through 243
the purple and reddish kinds, to the light yellow and the bright orange-yellow.
The latter are similar to what are sometimes called "yams" in this
country. Judging only from the present, little attempt was made to plant and
harvest sweet potatoes according to color.
174*

Technologically, the agriculture of the Cayuá was of the familiar tropical 241
slash-and-burn type, with definitely recognized stages in the process. First
the small brush and trees were cut, and then the larger trees, though only as
many of them as seemed absolutely necessary or possible within the limits of
available equipment. (The large trees were not so readily felled, of course,
as they are at present by the use of steel axes.) The fallen vegetation was
allowed to lie for a while to dry in the sun, the dry winter season of the year
usually therefore being chosen for the cutting. When sufficiently dry, or if
wet weather impended, the slash was fired. Sometimes slash was piled about
the trunks of standing trees or unburned fallen logs by way of gradually

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[40] If Neo-Brazilian acculturation today is any indication, it does seem as if the indigenous [178]*
North developed the use of manioc to a higher degree than the South (and probably developed
the use of corn somewhat less than the South). That is, the present-day use of manioc by whites is
more developed in the North than the South.

*174
241 consuming them without the more strenuous labor of axe work. In most new
clearings, a second burning was necessary, and in such cases, the unburned
slash was nearly always piled up about fallen trunks or live trees.[a] Planting
was done in the spring in the ash-covered, burnt-over ground in the midst of
[192] charred and partially consumed trunks and stumps. These impediments
caused relatively little difficulty as far as Cayuá planting was concerned
because the principal planting implements were a digging stick (*sarakwá*)
[192] and possibly some sort of pre-iron, hoe-like implement. Such tools worked
well enough in the irregular, trunk-strewn ground, but the crude and untended
appearance of the aboriginal *kokwé* (agricultural clearing) caused unfavorable
comment both from the Jesuits and from Dr. Rengger, accustomed alike to
*174 the smooth, unobstructed European fields where the plow had to pass.

A point of some difficulty to affirm, for lack of actual information on the
241 Cayuá, concerns the sexual division of labor in agriculture. That the men did
462 the heavy work of cutting and burning the fields seems certain enough, and
this is also the case today. But today men have a considerable role in the rest
of agriculture as well, including the planting, tending, and harvesting of a
number of crops. The women are also important at present, and, indeed,
apparently indispensable in farming certain crops, notably corn. However, the
work of agriculture after the burning of the fields is now by no means exclusive
[224] with women. But in early accounts of Coastal Tupi, agriculture, except for
[226] cutting and burning, was largely and unmistakably a female province; the
[184] man's time was much occupied in hunting and fishing. Besides the comparative
data from Tupi-Guarani peoples, we have the fact that a post-Conquest change
in the sexual division of labor in agriculture is likely in the Cayuá instance.
We have some grounds, therefore, in spite of the lack of documents, in stating
that the aboriginal Cayuá had female agriculture.

Somewhat less important to the aboriginal Cayuá than agriculture (but
quite important notwithstanding) were hunting and gathering. Agriculture
*174 was a seasonal, primarily female, activity, which left the men free for extensive
224 hunting and fishing. Among game animals that the Cayuá esteemed were deer,
paca, *caitetu* (sometimes *taitetu*), *tapir* or *anta*, *capivara*, and armadilloes. The
paca is a rodent, the *caitetu* is a wild pig that roams the forests in bands and is
considered dangerous quarry because of the numbers in which they usually
move, and the *anta* is an ungulate and American relative of the hippopotamus
*174 and horse. The armadillo or *tatú* is much smaller quarry and is usually dug out
224 of his burrow. The meat is considered good by the Cayuá, and the shells have
261 long been used for vessels and containers. Several wild varieties of the cat
262 family are also found locally, but the Cayuá did not apparently share the

[237]
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[171] [a] This process is today known in Brasil as *coivara*, both the name and the practice having
been taken over from the aborigines, according to some.

174*

enthusiasm for this type of flesh attributed to the Abipones by Dobrizhoffer.[42] 224
The *coati* (Tupi word), a little animal related to the raccoon, is killed for food, 262
and monkeys may also have been used. Alligators were probably eaten, although [261]
only certain portions such as the tail. Rengger gives us the impression [225]
that the aboriginal Cayuá lived at least half from hunting,[43] and this estimate may not be greatly excessive.

174*
A number of birds were killed for food, and toucans, parrots, and parroqueets 223
served both for food and feathers. Parroquets and sometimes parrots [235]
were tamed for pets, and such birds are also today to be found walking about the roofs of some half a dozen houses at Taquapiri. The ostrich-like emu which runs in the open *campo* of the Cayuá region was probably eaten formerly, as it is today, but it is not known whether the eggs were also eaten. Small birds of this species were captured and kept about the settlement to be eaten or for their eggs (?), though it is a moot question whether this keeping of semidomesticated emu antedates the introduction of the European practice of
keeping chickens. Certain other birds were eaten such as the *tapena* (*gavião-tesoura*), [262]
but the flesh of others was restricted to the older people, those who had grandchildren; it would make a younger person lazy or cause other undesirable effects. The owl was one such bird.[44]

The bow and arrow was one of the most important weapons of the chase, 174*
being employed against most larger and faster game, but special, blunt arrows 411
for birds were also made. Clubs appear to have been used in certain kinds of 224
hunting as well as in war and in personal disputes; in hunting, clubs were used 223
principally against smaller and slower animals. The pellet bow is said not to be aboriginal, but in any case, was early used against birds which perch within its range.

In the matter of fishing, the Cayuá do not seem to have made the use of 174* 226
this source of food that the coastal Tupi did. Métraux comments that "the Cainguá are the only Tupi-Guarani who are so poor in fishing methods; not only do they not possess nets, but they do not shoot fish with the bow and arrow like the majority of Indians of South America."[45] While our information may suffer from insufficient or faulty reporting, it seems likely that Métraux's general impression is correct—at least judging from the present. It would be less safe to say, however, that the Cayuá have always been so poor in fishing practices. At the time of the European entry the Cayuá are practically unreported and may have been better off than now in respect of fishing. In the second place, the retreat of the Cayuá to their present territory, as they sought to avoid contact with the Europeans, confined some of them to an area where fishing is often impracticable because of the lack of fish. Ambrosetti, for ex-

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[42] Dobrizhoffer, 1822, pp. 253 ff.

[43] Rengger, 1835, pp. 125–126.

[44] Ambrosetti, 1894, p. 107.

[45] Métraux, 1928, p. 92.

*174
226 ample, speaking of Cayuá farther down the Paraná than Taquapiri, does not give the impression that we would expect from Métraux's statement about the lack of Cayuá fishing.[46]

In any event, the Cayuá practiced fishing at least to a limited extent and knew the techniques of angling, fish poisoning, weir building, and stream damming. It must remain a question for the time being whether the present poverty of fishing techniques is recent or a matter of long standing. It is
*174 likely that fishing was somewhat more important in bygone days.

224 The trapping of animals, while classifiable as a special form of hunting, was in a certain sense a meeting ground of agricultural and hunting practices. Traps, snares, and deadfalls had to be set to keep animal depredations in the planted crops at a minimum. At the same time, of course, the supply of meat
*174 acquired in this manner contributed to the Cayuá larder.

222 Gathering practices, largely the responsibility of the women, played a fairly important secondary part in the food economy of the Cayuá. This was
[462] primarily due to the fact that a considerable number of fructiferous trees and bushes grow in the region.[47] Among the wild plants widely used for food by the Cayuá are to be found *gwaimbé* (*Philodendron bipinnatifidum*), *jabolicâba* (*Myrciaria cauliflora*), *vacuá* (*Pandanus utilis*, Bory), *gwaBiróBa* (*Mirlacea*
[252] family), *gwajuBíra* (?), and *araticú* (*Rollinia exalbida*). The use of the heart
[171] of the *pindó* palm (*Cocos romanzoffiana*) to make flour as well as shoots for roasting is reported; it is also known to have been a characteristic food practice of some of the non-Guarani-speaking peoples, such as the Mbayá-Caduveo.
[273] One modern informant insisted that formerly certain wild fruits were used, at the proper times of the year, to make the all-important *cãwĩ'* or *chicha* beer. (Corn, potatoes, or manioc are traditional ingredients.)

The women also gathered yearly a certain large ant, *ysá*, when it left its house about October. Standing near the mouth of the ant houses with their feet in small, prepared water holes so as not to be bitten, they swept large
[252] quantities of the insects into vessels. These would later be roasted, principally for the white fat or oil which was stored in the tail segment of each ant and which was highly esteemed for food. Certain grubs, including one called *tambú* (*Calandra palmarum*) were also eaten.

Another aspect of gathering practices was connected with the several varieties of melliferous bees which live in the Cayuá habitat. Locating hives and the systematic gathering of honey were fairly well developed practices
[171] among the aboriginal Cayuá. This trait they doubtless shared with the neighboring Guarani as well as with the little known Guayaki of Paraguay, people who have been characterized as having "a honey culture." There was a

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[46] Ambrosetti, 1894, pp. 701, 727 ff.

[137] [47] Apparently an even larger number of such fruit-bearing trees, including many of the same varieties, grew in the environment of the more northerly dwelling Tupi-Guarani.

174* system of recognized proprietary rights over hives when found (according to the finder), and indications are that a rude sort of conservation was practiced. 222 This aimed at not destroying a hive or robbing it to the extent that the bee swarm would move to another location, making it necessary to rediscover them or find a new swarm. Amulets are reported for honey gathering among modern [777] Cayuá[48] and apparently were used to keep the bee swarms from leaving their hives as well as to insure a good quantity of honey. There is little reason to think such practices uniquely modern. The magic in this regard is generally similar to hunting magic.[49]

MATERIAL CULTURE

174* The aboriginal Cayuá house type was the *tapŷi*, a long house with a roof 342 which sloped to the ground. The heavy part of the interior structure was composed of a quadrangular skeleton of stout poles lashed together, using [192] crotches in the uprights to place horizontal pieces. Over this basic structure was erected a light framework of bamboo stringers or other small material, inclined at a 45° to 50° angle; running from the ground, the opposite banks of stringers met at the roof peak. (See Plate I.) Across these, all around the structure, were lashed the horizontal stringers, regularly spaced. The sides of the house were flat, but the ends were rounded out like half-sections of cones. The general impression has been described as that of an overturned boat, V-shaped in cross-section. The whole was then thatched, and appears quite similar [171] to the house type described for the Coastal Tupi; it is also generally similar to that in use among a number of Amazonian peoples, not Tupi-Guarani. The doors were usually low and were from one to three in number, possibly more. Such houses varied in size, but in the main they were to be described as large. The size of the structure and the disposition of interior arrangements all unmistakably [596] show that the *tapŷi* was intended to accommodate the extended family, which was aboriginally the basic unit of society.

174* Houses were placed in cleared spaces in the forest, and a rectangular ground 351 immediately in front and about the *tapŷi* was beaten hard and grassless by the feet of many dancers.

174* The furniture of the *tapŷi* was fairly simple. There were small, low wooden 352 benches carved from a single block of wood, sometimes, if not always, in the shape of animals. Hammocks were knotted of cords of *caraguatá* fiber and [286] perhaps also from cotton. Strelnikov mentions a modern hammock of pigskin,[50] and therefore hide may formerly have been so used, although this is

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[48] Ambrosetti, 1894, p. 741.

[49] Honey probably had unusual importance to certain aboriginal peoples of Brazil, for its [262] qualities if not always for its quantity. This is also suggested indirectly. Today, the rural Neo-Brazilians in the region of the Cayuá attribute to wild honey a considerable dietetic and curative [171] virtue.

[50] Strelnikov, 1928, p. 336.

*174
352 doubtful. Apparently sleeping was not entirely restricted to the hammock
[513] among the Cayuá, however, as Rengger mentions children reclining on skins
[854] of animals.[51] There is some indication that hammocks were reserved for adults.
Hammocks were hung all about the interior of the *tapŭi*, in each family section,
*174 and could be unslung for extra space during the day.

322 Every aboriginal *tapŭi* had its mortar, and probably most had several of
these. Mortars were made of hard wood which had been burned and hacked
412 until there was a depression in the end or in the side: both "vertical" and
"horizontal" mortars may have been made, although the "vertical" was much
more common.[52] Pestles were either simple, smoothed pieces of wood with
rounded ends, or might be tapered in the middle to make a better grip and to
lighten them. Sometimes the two pounding ends were different as well, one
being regularly blunted while the other was flattened laterally, giving the pestle
*174 somewhat the appearance of a narrow, thick spatula.

415 Long troughs for *cãwĩ'* beer, cut out of logs in much the same manner as a
[322] dugout canoe, were usually to be found by each *tapŭi*. Some of the present-day troughs are of great size—as much as thirty feet long and a yard or more
wide inside—and it may be that formerly, when every house had its own
trough (and without metal tools), they were never as large. The smaller
troughs are still to be seen and are usually less than half the size of the largest
*174 observed.

415 Pottery vessels were used which were made by the Cayuá women themselves. The use of these vessels, however, may have been somewhat limited
[323] in that gourds could be used for many of the same purposes except direct
[462] cooking on the fire. The metal vessels of the European have practically re-
*[177] placed aboriginal pottery, although the use of the gourd still widely persists.
[312] Gourds were used to carry water, generally in this case being provided with a
coarse net and carrying loop of vegetable fiber. Larger gourds (up to 2 feet in
diameter) were used for storing *cãwĩ'*, tiny ones for keeping paint pigments and
herbal remedies, and open half-gourds were used for drinking and eating
[237] dippers. The shell of the armadillo made a good container for corn and similar
substances. Small gourds were sometimes ingeniously cut so that the top
could be used as a close-fitting cover, held tight by cords passing through holes
[531] in both parts. Pyrographic decoration of gourds is suggested aboriginally.

[285] Admirably woven, round, flat, sieves of hard, rattan-like material were
used for straining *cãwĩ'* beer and in pounding corn, for separating out coarse
[192] grains which needed more grinding. Other basket work seems to have been
limited to the woman's back basket, *mbunakũ'* (or *adjaká*), worn across the

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[51] Rengger, 1835, p. 117.

[52] It is possible, however, that the horizontal type of mortar is modern. It is now much used to crush the juice from sugar cane, an operation for which the upright type with smaller basin is ill suited. Sugar cane is, of course, post-contact.

174*
back of the shoulders and supported by a tumpline, and the crude open- 415
work "baskets," often hastily thrown together on the spot, for carrying by
hand fruits, manioc, corn and the like. Basket weaving was men's work. [285]

The men did not carry burdens to any great extent. The carrying they did [192]
was different from that of the women and was probably confined to small [462]
woven bags, made of *caraguatá*, which hung from one shoulder. These usually
contained only personal objects and were reputedly called *mbocói* (the word [192]
for "two"?).

174*
There seems to be some confusion as to the use made by the Cayuá of 501
canoes. Métraux says that the Cainguá (apparently those of Paraguay) and
the Chiriguano [171]

> are the only tribes of this family that possess no boats, which is to be explained by the absence of any easily navigable course of water in the region where they presently live. Their ancestors, the Guarani, were excellent paddlers and the Cainguá of Brazil [elsewhere specifically referred to as "*Cayuá ou Cainguá du Brésil*" (p. 61)], who live in a country with plenty of waterways, have inherited their qualities.[83]

However, few or no Cayuá of Brazil now use canoes extensively. It can only be said, therefore, that canoes were probably formerly widespread and important and that their use has diminished considerably according to the particular habitat of the group in question.

174*
Today there are differences of clothing among the Cayuá of Paraguay, with 184
different groups being called respectively "Baticolas," "Pañ," or "Chiripá"— 291
allegedly according to their characteristic costume. It may have been that
formerly, too, there were differences among groups. At any rate, male loin-
cloths of native cotton are indicated for the aboriginal culture, and there is a 291
suggestion that these cloths were supported by cords twisted of human hair. 174*
To the women is ascribed the use of the familiar *chiripá* of the region, a sort
of short kilt or apron, also of native cotton cloth. Ambrosetti, however, tells
us that in one modern Guarani-speaking group, the Chiripá, both men and
women used this article of clothing from which their name is taken.[84] Small
caps of cotton are mentioned,[85] and the use of belts of human hair, as well as
wristlets and "leglets" of hair, is indicated for the men. The use of leg wind- [714]
ings, at least, is supposed to have been related to the idea of staving off fatigue
on the march, while the bracelets—the left one—are said to have served as
protection against the slap of the bowstring. Some Cayuá used leather wind-
ings for this latter purpose.[86]

174*
Rengger mentions "mantles" of cotton,[87] but no feather capes are sug- 301
gested for the Cayuá such as are known to have been used by some of the 237
coastal Tupi tribes. Some featherwork, however, was known among the [171]

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[83] Métraux, 1928, p. 207.
[84] Ambrosetti, 1894, p. 704.
[85] *Ibid.*, p. 705.
[86] *Ibid.*
[87] Rengger, 1835, p. 121, *et passim*.

*174
301 Cayuá, and diadems, headbands, armbands, and feather collarpieces are men-
287 tioned.[illegible] It may also be supposed that the cotton or *caraguatá* belts, which
are now so commonly used and prized by the Cayuá, were also formerly
known. Métraux comments, in connection with the use of cotton and *caraguatá*
286 as weaving materials, that the Cayuá are the only Tupi-Guarani tribe to use
*174 indifferently cotton and other vegetable fibers for weaving.[illegible]

The Cayuá loom was the simple upright frame, with vertical posts planted
in the ground. The top horizontal piece was laid in forks in the uprights, and
the lower horizontal piece was tied to the uprights at the distance required.
The warp was usually composed of a single continuous or knotted piece of
yarn passed around and around the horizontal loom pieces. No comb or bat
[386] was used, apparently, and the woof was put through the warp by hand. The
product of the Cayuá loom was a creditable article, nevertheless, and simple
[462] dyeing was practiced with several plant colors available. Women were, as
*174 they now are, the weavers of the Cayuá.[illegible]

283 Fishing lines, and cords and ropes for heavier purposes, were twisted from
227 various vegetable fibers. Some of the ropes were strong enough to hold large
animals when these were caught in nooses made from them. Since very early
[177] times the Cayuá have used metal obtained from European needles or other
sources for fishhooks, so it is difficult to say what the aboriginal article may
*174 have been.

411 Cayuá tools and weapons included the bow and arrow, already mentioned.
The bow was round in cross-section, and the arrows were two-feathered.
Métraux mentions triple feathering of arrows for the Cayua,[illegible] but no other
*174 suggestion of this has been encountered, and it is not present in modern arrows.
412 Clubs were formerly used by the Cayuá. Notched axes of stone and knives
of bamboo are indicated,[illegible] but it is not known what form of aboriginal hoe or
[178] hoe-like implement was used, if any. The digging stick, or *sarakuá*, was the
primary agricultural implement aboriginally, and possibly the only one; it is
[171] still in use today, not only by the Cayuá but by local Neo-Brasilians.

301 Cayuá men wore the long lip-stick or *tembetá* ("lip-stone"), which in their
case was customarily made of the translucent resin of a certain tree. This
881 ornament and symbol of initiation and a man's status is still in use among some
*174 Cayuá, although modern examples appear to be shorter on the average than
304 some of the extremely long ones reported for the past—up to thirty and more
000 centimeters. Face painting for women and children is indicated for the

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[illegible] Métraux, 1928, p. 150. [illegible] *Ibid.*, p. 232.

[797] [illegible] The weaving of cotton was one of the household industries of Guarani women of which the Jesuits have made considerable mention in connection with the economic organization of the [439] missions. Some of this production was apparently sold on the outside, and the priests seem to have made much effort to inculcate the industry in their female wards.

[illegible] Métraux, 1928, p. 75. [illegible] *Ibid.*, pp. 98-99.

Face painting for women and children is indicated for the 174*
aboriginal Cayuá, with the use of both the red *urucũ'* (*Bixa orellana*) and the 302
dark *genipá* (*Genipa americana*) dyes. Judging from the present, only the 562
women were expected to engage in smoking for pleasure, and the pipe was the 854
common means by which tobacco was used by them. Some special use of tobacco
as an intoxicant is likely for the shaman or *pa'í*. Pipes were molded of 756
clay or carved of hard wood, sometimes the root of the *aragá* bush (tentatively 276
identified with the *guava* or *goiaba*). 562
174*

The aboriginal Cayuá had mouth blown flutes of bamboo. Stamping tubes[63] 534
made of a large section of *taquara* (bamboo), of which the node of the lower
end was left unperforated, were used by the women in group ceremonials. 174*
When the end was thumped on the ground, the *takwapú*, as it is called, emitted [192]
a dull resonating sound. The gourd rattle or *mbaraká* was used by the men, [755]
and this instrument was important in connection with the religious and curing
ceremonies. The *takwapú* and *mbaraká* were probably kept in a sort of rack [562]
like an umbrella stand in a special place when they were not in use.

The musical bow in one form or another appears old in the area, although it would perhaps be impossible now to say if the miniature bow is aboriginal. (Musical bows do not seem to be indigenous to the South American tropical forest.) This is held in the mouth and stroked by another tiny bow strung inside of the first.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION 174*

The basic social unit of the Cayuá was formerly the extended family, 582
headed by an old man. Patrilocality is putatively indicated, though matrilocality 591
was probably at least temporary. Marital locality was in any case 596
tempered by the marriage of girls with the mother's brother. Descent seems
to most investigators and to the present writer to have been patrilineal.[64] 611

The extended family was closely related to other aspects of Cayuá culture, 342
notably to the kinship system, to economic organization, and to aboriginal
architecture and the typical dwelling unit, the *tapûi*. The *tapûi*, a large structure, 596
was the dwelling unit of the extended family. Here there was ample 174*
space for housing the several small families which comprised the larger unit. In fact, a structure of such a size and arrangement—a sort of "longhouse"—could not well have been adapted to any other size of group and organization of occupants. The small elementary families were distributed along the length of the dwelling, each stringing its hammocks, building its fire, and storing its equipment in its own section. Sections, however, were not parti-

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[63] Cf. Izikowitz, 1935, pp. 151 ff.

[64] Cf. Wagley and Galvão, 1946. One of the co-authors of this article, Galvão, worked with the writer among the Cayuá. His conclusions, both privately expressed and those published in the above article, accord in many respects with those of the writer, as far as social organization of the Cayuá is concerned. Cf. also Watson, V. D., 1944.

*174
596 tioned off or given any real means of privacy, to judge from the absence of
342 comment to this point in the literature and the lack of any present tradition.
Some *tapüi* apparently housed so many occupants that to uninitiated
European observers such as Rengger[illegible] the dwelling groups were taken to be whole
*174 tribes, all the members of which were living under a single roof.

361 Adding to the impression of the *tapüi* group as an autonomous unit, sometimes
mistaken for a "tribe," was the fact that each *tapüi* (perhaps group of
342 *tapüi*) stood quite alone in the forest at some distance from the nearest
neighboring *tapüi*. How great the distance may have been within a single recognized
community of *tapüi*-extended families is not known, but it is quite clear
that often, if not always, no other *tapüi* could be seen from the location of a
given dwelling. This condition seems to have been associated in some way
with the importance of hunting and gathering in a forest area and also with the
Cayuá penchant for concealment of their dwellings and the trails to them.
[178] (The latter inclination is still today manifest in subtle ways.) Apparently one
came suddenly and with no forewarning upon a *tapüi*, its clearing opening
abruptly out of the dense surrounding forest. Such isolation could only stress
the basic importance and discreteness of the extended family dwelling unit
*174 among the Cayuá, and its relative autonomy.

596 Economically also, the basic unity and autonomy of the extended family
was given expression. The *tapüi* group was the fundamental production-
433 consumption unit of the Cayuá. Its *kokwé*, or agricultural clearing, was
241 farmed jointly by the extended family members and the produce jointly distributed.
There are inferences that elementary families did not possess individual
clearings; it is not impossible, however, that certain sections of the
tapüi's kokwé plantation were separately assigned to the several component
*174 elementary families. It is not certain that hunting activity was joint, although
596 certain types of fishing may have been, notably that in which the poisonous
[244] *timbó* plant was employed. In any case, the products of hunting and fishing
[226] were sometimes (perhaps regularly) jointly distributed in a manner suggesting
the extended family as the basic group. In the preparation of *cäwi'* and the
[273] giving of a drinking fest in which large quantities of this beverage were
consumed, the *tapüi* group was the smallest effective unit of the community.
[462] The women of the extended family were the ones to prepare the drink and
the common (?) stores of the *tapüi* furnished the ingredients of corn, potatoes,
*174 or manioc.

582 The aboriginal relation of the extended family grouping to kinship suggests
a controversial point. The Cayuá may have had a somewhat unusual
type of marital right or presumptive marriage of mother's brother with sister's
daughter (maternal uncle to niece). Wagley and Galvão state that they failed

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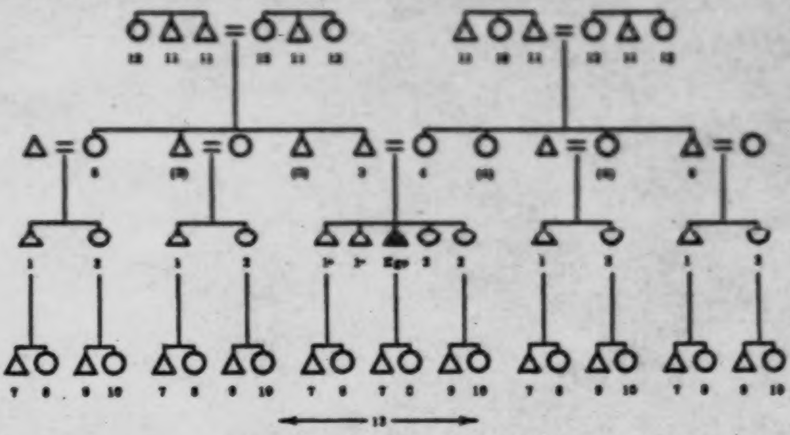
[illegible] Rengger, 1835, pp. 120, 130-131.

174*

to find among the modern Cayuá, as well as the Tapirapé and Tenetehara 582
(Guajajara), any indication of the admission—let alone the preference—of
such a marriage.[66] This marital form has been reported by several of the 175*
early chroniclers of Brazil among the coastal Tupi and is dealt with in more
modern terms by Kirchhoff[67] and Lowie.[68] In the coastal tribes of the 16th 582
century the groom, unless he were the maternal uncle of the bride, became a 583
sort of servant of his father-in-law, aiding him in economic undertakings, 171
avenging him in disputes, and similar obligations. There were also obligations

601



Key

1. Brother
2. Sister
3. Father
4. Mother
5. Father's sister
6. Mother's brother
7. Son
8. Daughter
9. Nephew
10. Niece
11. Grandfather
12. Grandmother
13. Grandchildren (irrespective of sex)

+. Older

−. Younger

( ). Slightly modified term

Ego being a Woman:

7. Nephew 8. Niece 9. Son 10. Daughter

FIG. 1.—Cayuá Kinship Terminology

to the brother-in-law associated with the usage. The arrangement related to 175*
a presumed pattern of temporary (or for that matter, perhaps permanent) 171
matrilocality; but if the mother's brother were the groom, residence might 582
not be matri- but patrilocal. In this case, the sister's daughter (the bride) 591
came to reside with her husband-uncle. This was reasonable if the bride were

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[66] Wagley and Galvão, 1946, pp. 22–23. [67] Kirchhoff, 1931. [68] Lowie, 1930.

*175
171 considered as the payment or return of a "debt" incurred when the bride's
582 mother was originally married out of the extended family group in which she
591 had grown up; the daughter was returned to her mother's extended family by the consummation of marriage with the mother's brother. The original debt was thus cancelled and the father of the girl released from his obligations.

*175 But in the case of a marriage with someone other than a mother's brother,
591 residence would be matrilocal—at least temporarily so—and there were
582 economic obligations of such a groom to his father-in-law. Residence with the
683 wife's kin and bride service continued until there had been a female (?) issue
171 of the union. A female child, that is, constituted the promise of a return payment (by marriage) for the woman who had been "lost" in the initial marriage to a man from another extended family. In other words, matrilocality seems to have been temporary—until female issue was born—and it applied primarily in the case of a groom who was not the bride's mother's brother; otherwise, patrilocality.

*174 The writer does not agree with Wagley and Galvão when they state that
591 residence was (apparently permanently) matrilocal and when they appear to conclude that the marriage form reported for the early coastal Tupi may never
601 have existed among the Cayuá. Over against their conclusion—and a point which cannot be fully developed here—are certain facts of Cayuá kinship terminology. Certain modern terminological provisions lack corresponding kinship behavior at the present time, and these discrepancies are particularly suggestive in the light of the avuncular system sketched above. At present, a sister's daughter is called by a special term, but she is so designated only by males. (Females do not call sister's daughter or, more particularly, brother's son by any parallel term.) "Daughter" is the term uniformly used for all other female relatives of the first descending generation, man speaking. Why then, a special term for sister's daughter, if not probably to express a
[171] special relationship? The implication is reinforced by the fact that such a spe-
*[174] cial relationship, as we have said, is reported among the coastal Tupi, which fact must in turn be viewed in the light of the generally close similarity of the Cayuá with this and other Tupi-Guarani peoples, through both space and time.

The Cayuá kinship system otherwise was probably much the same aboriginally as at present. In Ego's generation all relatives were called "brother" and "sister," but same-sexed siblings were distinguished as "older" and "younger." That is, sisters were distinguished as to seniority by females, and brothers were so distinguished by males. Father's brother and mother's sister were classified with the respective parents of Ego, while father's sister and mother's brother were classified apart. Correspondingly, children of one's same-sexed siblings were considered as own children, while children of opposite-sexed siblings were called by special terms, logical equivalents of "nephew" and "niece." However, male Ego's term for "nephew," *šeri'y*, was almost

I:Watson E-4.5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

identical to male Ego's "son," *ta'y*; and male Ego's "daughter" was *tajy* (phonemically a close variant of "son," *ta'y*). But male Ego's "niece" (sister's daughter) was [illegible], quite a different term phonemically. [illegible] is the relative involved if the Cayuá kinship system corresponded to that of the coastal Tupi on the point of the avuncular marriage. "Nephews" and "nieces," then, were the children of a man's sister, while for a woman they were the children of a brother. For a woman, however, both "niece" and "nephew" (brother's children) were called by the same term, [illegible]. In other words, while male Ego distinguished "niece" and "nephew" as to sex—the term for "niece" differing radically from others for siblings' offspring, female Ego did not distinguish them terminologically. This is further indirect support for the former existence among the Cayuá of preferential marriage.[illegible] 174* 601

The avuncular marriage was admirably suited to tying together various extended families of a local group by marital bonds—a common function of marriage in social organization. 174* 582 621

The Cayuá had terms for grandparents, distinguishing them according to sex and extending to brothers and sisters of lineal grandparents. Only one term is now used for all grandchildren by either a male or female Ego. However, judging from other Tupi-Guarani peoples, the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara, as well as from the early missionary-compiled dictionaries, the Cayuá perhaps formerly had a separate term for grandchildren depending upon the sex of the speaker.[illegible] 174* 601

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Little is known or can be surmised of aboriginal Cayuá leadership or political organization. A household headman has been mentioned and was probably the eldest, most influential, or most respected male of each *tapýi*. Presumably it was this man to whom the early documents referred when they spoke of the "tubicha" or "cacique," but it is difficult to know if each household was largely autonomous or if one elder, or a council, was as a rule in limited ascendency over the several households of a local group. The latter seems likely to have been the case. As has been frequently pointed out in similar situations, however, it is not easy to judge how much political authority such officers actually had since it has been a common and immediate result of white contact to increase and centralize native political authority. A council of household leaders is indirectly suggested in some of the early chronicles. It is here again hard to tell if such was a normal thing or a special arrangement evoked by the unprecedented problems created by the coming of the Europeans. 174* 622 [192] [623]

[illegible] Montoya, 1876, Column 471, gives substantially the same term for the sister's daughter relationship, man speaking, as is registered for the modern Cayuá (17th century data).

[illegible] Wagley and Galvão, 1946, p. 17.

*774
756 Whatever the aboriginal political situation, the shaman or *pa'i* was often
797 a man of considerable worldly as well as spiritual authority. The *de jure* secular powers may have been commonly combined in the person of this official; or it may be that this exercise of secular power was forced upon the Guarani and Cayuá shamans to an abnormal degree by the white advent. As spiritual leaders, shamans would obviously be indicated to head up resistance—which took secular forms—to the religious precepts the European missionaries were trying to inculcate. The shamans (*pa'i*) were among the most adamant in fostering rebellion in those dubiously won over to the missionaries of Roman Catholicism. It is well to recognize, therefore, the good probability of a bias in some of the European accounts which might tend to neglect possible Guarani and Cayuá secular officers in favor of an emphasis of the secular powers of the shamans. To the missionaries, shamans would have appeared all too influential in their resistance to proselytism.

*774

WARFARE

726 There is practically no information regarding the warfare of the Cayuá. When we first begin to hear specifically about them, they have already assumed the role of eluders[21]—as far as the Europeans, at least, are concerned. One may suspect, however, that such pusillanimity has not always been their nature, largely on the basis of accounts of other closely related Tupi-Guarani. The Chiriguano, apparently closely akin and who came from a homeland very near to the traditional homeland of the Cayuá, were certainly warlike as they invaded the eastern frontiers of the Inca Empire in the early 16th century; in fact, they seem to have done well from a military standpoint against the men of the Inca. The war-cannibalism complex of the coastal Tupi groups is well known, and any tribe which shared in this general cultural background might well be fairly warlike also. The Cayuá may have been cannibalistic at least as late as the period of Jesuit missionization. Others among their close neighbors and linguistico-cultural relatives were cannibals. We might expect to discover the same for the Cayuá, but the actual documentary evidence is
*774 lacking.

231 By the time there is any mention at all of the Cayuá, beyond a few indefinite
648 words, the Guaicuruan-speaking peoples to the west of them, notably the
726 Mbayá-Caduveo, were already in possession of horses and had crossed the
*[175] Paraguay River from the Chaco to the Mato Grosso side (latter half of the 17th century). When Rengger contacted the Cayuá in the first part of the 19th century, he found them well acquainted with the depredations of the Mbayá and very fearful of these people. Rengger was told that there simply was no recourse for the Cayuá but to seek to avoid war with the Mbayá by concealment; the Mbayá shamans were altogether too powerful, and nothing would

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[21] This adjective of Radin's (1942) certainly appears to be a *mot juste*.

avail against their magic.[73] The Cayuá said that they could not even keep cocks or dogs in their settlements for fear that their crowing or barking would disclose the location of *tapüi* to lurking raiders.[74] If the Cayuá ever had a markedly aggressive spirit toward other peoples, then, it may have been curbed by contact with the proud and dauntless equestrian raiders from the Chaco, if not earlier, indeed, by strife with more successful Tupi-Guarani or contact with Gê-speaking peoples. The post-Conquest incursions of *bandeirantes* and *mamelucos*[75] could well have had a like effect on the Indians. 174* 231 648 726

RELIGIOUS CONCEPTS

175* 771 797

Our knowledge of aboriginal Tupi-Guarani religions has suffered, both at the hands of the early chroniclers as well as those of later writers, because of overemphasis of mythology. There apparently has been a confusion of mythology with the religion of which it is a part. (The white interest in mythology probably reflects Catholic Christian emphasis of dogma and theology.) Specifically for the Guarani, the missionary commentators, who might reasonably have been expected to produce worthwhile accounts of religion, nominally a matter of some interest to them, have not left much of value. Some were bent on discovering factual proof that the ancestors of the Guarani were actually taught by St. Thomas. (There were a few vague hints of this apostle's activity, least well accounted for of all the disciples. The scriptures, of course, state that all corners of the earth received the word after Christ departed leaving his followers to carry out such a project.) Or the priests were concerned with showing what a depraved and stupid type of worship the Guarani had and hence the necessity for His Hispanic Majesty to provide for greater and more intensive Roman Catholic missionization. Once the missionaries had a sufficient foothold to be able to do so with impunity, they made every effort to expose the native shamans to ridicule; they had them beaten, outlawed, or even punished with death when they expressed recalcitrance to the purveyors of the True Faith. From such conditions objective accounts of the native religion were not likely to emerge. We are therefore often obliged to use the information contained in accounts of other Tupi-Guarani religions and in reconstructions based on current Cayuá religious notions divested as much as possible of their acculturational overlay.

174* 776 [171] [771]

The aboriginal Cayuá did not differ greatly in general religious ideas from their coastal relatives. Métraux has said that the world was peopled for the early Tupinambá by two classes of supernatural powers or beings, one generally malevolent, individualized spirits, which might be called demons or genii, and the other a class of more numerous but impersonal "ghosts."[76]

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[73] Rengger, 1835, p. 120.

[74] *Ibid.*, p. 123.

[75] *Bandeirantes* and *mamelucos* were mestizo adventurers and Indian slavers from the São Paulo section of colonial Brazil.

[76] Métraux, "The Tupinambá," p. 33.

*774
776 This is also a fair statement of the beliefs of the Cayuá of the present time,
and we may therefore safely consider it as representing the past of this people's
religion. A third class of supernaturals existed, made up of the remote "sky
god" culture heroes and creator beings. The earthly demons almost universally had peculiar individual traits, such as one leg, double feet (that is, legs
with feet and toes extending both forward and back), red hair (!), dwarf or
giant size, and similar features. No Cayuá who knew his demonology would be
likely to mistake the particular spirit he might at some time be dealing with.
Furthermore, the demons usually had special individual interests in life.
One sustained himself entirely upon bananas (*sic!*), another on honey, and
usually each lived in a particular type of place, some in the water, some in
the *cerrado*, some in the *taquara* groves, some among the *pindó* palms. Some,
at least, were associated as owners or protectors of certain plants or animals,
and one might incur their wrath by treating the plant or animal in question
in a careless or disrespectful manner. Almost any of these beings was capable
of doing harm to men, although certain ones were more aggressive in this
enterprise than others. A few demons may have been passive as far as man was
concerned, and even fewer may occasionally have helped man by teaching
him the use of plants or the knowledge of crafts. By and large, however, these
beings were to be avoided, or placated if avoidance were not possible. Probably
all of them had individual names.

775 The ghost spirits were not individually named but simply referred to
*774 generically as *angwéra*. They abounded and were omnipresent—or at least
were capable of turning up practically anywhere at any time. Many of the
commonest *angwéra* were ghosts of departed Cayuá—if, indeed, this was not
the ultimate origin of them all. Measures were usually taken upon interment
to see that the ghost of the deceased human did not return or stay in the
neighborhood of his erstwhile house or village. Houses of the deceased were
[768] probably abandoned and burned. The use of fire seems closely connected with
[392] the Cayuá idea of exorcising ghosts. A fire was kindled by the grave of the
newly deceased; fires were kept alive at night in the houses of the Cayuá
[764] (and are still) with the thought that this would keep lurking ghosts away.
The night was especially fearful, and few would needlessly venture out alone.
[171] Great fear of possible harm caused by these spirits appears to have been
characteristic of many of the Tupi-Guarani, and even whites were occasion-
[609] ally appealed to for help.[78] There is good reason to believe that the same was
largely true of the Cayuá.

778 There is no direct indication that the ancient Cayuá had idols or other
346 similar objects of worship. The Jesuits in their writings complained of the
Guarani who sometimes apparently had a special structure separate from
*175 their village where they kept the bones of a former powerful *pa'í*, displayed

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[78] Nimuendajú was once called upon by some Apapocuva-Guarani to use his rifle against a particularly malevolent and persistent ghost.

175*
with much decoration of feathers. This the missionaries said was used idola- 778
trously.[77] Such practices may also have been characteristic of the Cayuá. [346]
A cult of the dead is suggested among some Tupi-Guarani peoples.

The present Cayuá use of groups of what appear to be Christian crosses
may be but a slightly Christianized modification of a similar aboriginal
usage. Métraux speaks (Tupinambá) of "small posts sometimes provided 174*
with a cross bar from which painted images were suspended."[78] The Cayuá 171
were similar to other Tupi-Guarani also in their magico-religious connotations
for the gourd rattle or *mbaraká*. This instrument was apparently always used 534
in ceremonies and employed by the shaman (*pa'í*) in curing rituals. It was 755
conceived of as having a spirit within, whose "voice" was the sound of the 756
rattle itself. The spirit-possessed rattle may have been only that one which
had been consecrated by the *pa'í*. Ceremonial rattles were accorded a special 778
place in a sort of rack made for them and kept in the *tapûi* of the *pa'í*. (Per- [353]
haps each extended family had at least one shaman?) Since the Cayuá also [562]
had female shamans, it is likely that the *mbaraká* was sometimes used by these
women, but otherwise the instrument was restricted to male use. On a basis of
comparison and reconstruction, ritual observances of the aboriginal Cayuá
differed from those of the present primarily in being somewhat more elaborate. 174*

The Cayuá, like other Tupi-Guarani, had the story of the twin culture 171
heroes. The culture heroes and the various celestial beings, as recounted in
the almost universally similar myths about them, were the makers of many 773
of the conditions of the world, and they also gave some of the most important
inventions, such as agriculture, to the people. But the culture heroes and their
relatives of the Cayuá pantheon, sun, moon, thunder, and the like, were a
rather distant order of beings who intervened little in current human affairs
compared to the supernaturals who lived in the forest, the water, and the
taquara groves. The interest and activity of the sky-gods in men's lives were 174*
largely matters of the remote past. As far as the Cayuá are concerned, one of 177*
the probable influences of Christianity was to center attention on these celestial
and usually distant beings. Thus it may be that the first fruits ceremony in 776
which the new crops are "baptized" was not aboriginally dedicated to any of 824
the sky pantheon of *Ñandejára*[79] as at present. Certain seeds and also the 796
first fruits were ceremonially treated by the Cayuá, however, as they are now.

SHAMANISM

174*
Shamans (*pa'í*) have already been mentioned in connection with political 756
organization, and at least certain of them did have considerable power in the

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[77] Hernández, 1913, 1: 80–81; Dobrizhoffer, 1822, 2: 284.

[78] Métraux, "The Tupinambá," p. 34.

[79] Literally, "Our Lord," apparently a missionary inculcated concept, at least in its present sense. Among the Cayuá it is also a generic term for the entire pantheon of celestial supernaturals. It seems to be ambiguous to at least some Cayuá, being at the same time singular and collective.

*174
756 secular realm. With regard to their spiritual powers they seem to have varied [562] considerably from individual to individual. Female shamans existed, but their powers were usually less than those of the leading male shamans. A knowledge of medicines, magic, and witchcraft was not the exclusive possession of anyone, and, indeed, men especially acquired more of such knowledge, as a rule, as they grew older. But this was not the same as being a recognized *pa'í*, a regular office whose duties included rain-making, divination, curing, and ceremonial leadership in extended family or group-wide ceremonies. Cayuá *pa'í*, judging largely from comparative and contemporary evidence, had familiar spirits at their service who guided them in indicating those guilty of witchcraft, in prescribing cures, and in predicting the future. Upon the results of his work the *pa'í* was judged and rated as a *pa'í guasú* ("great [622] shaman") or as a less powerful practitioner. The *pa'í* was certainly a force in the community, and even if the secular leadership were not manifestly combined with the spiritual, it is doubtful whether a secular leader could [628] often seriously oppose the word of a *pa'í guasú*. The fame of a "great shaman" even transcended the limits of his own community, and he was consulted by members of neighboring groups in particularly difficult matters or those in which, perhaps for political reasons, the local shaman demurred. The information about the Tupinambá,[30] as well as the accounts of the Jesuits concerning the Guarani, both indicate the existence of especially powerful *pa'í* whose names were widely known. Such men could count upon being respectfully received in villages many miles distant to which they might choose to travel. [797] These more powerful shamans were often of particular annoyance to the [786] priests of Rome, and for the Guarani there exist suggestions of abortive nativistic movements inspired by them.

The *pa'í* were held to have power in their breath and could infuse this virtue into other persons or into objects by breathing upon them. This was [171] probably true of the Cayuá shamans as well. In other Tupi-Guarani groups tobacco was used for stimulating spiritual contact and making the breath [276] still more powerful (with the smoke). It is not certain that the same was true of the *pa'í* of the Cayuá, but the presumption is strongly affirmative. It was [824] probably the *pa'í* who led the first fruits ceremonies and those for consecration of the seeds. Although a large number of plant remedies seem to have been [755] generally known by all, at least one difference between the ordinary person and the shaman in this regard is that the *pa'í* was often the only one able to diagnose a given case of sickness. Thus he alone was able to know exactly which certain remedy was indicated. Particularly when the affliction was one instigated by witchcraft were the special talents of the *pa'í* indispensable and the limited ordinary herbal lore of the layman relatively hopeless.

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[30] Métraux, "The Tupinambá," p. 36.

Apparently the *pa'i* were closely bound up with the revivalistic tendencies 174*
of various Tupi-Guarani cultures, and especially with their messianic aspects. 175*
The movements noted among the Tupinambá are similar in many ways to 756
those subsequently denoted "revivalistic movements" in North America; 786
and the coastal Tupi impulses were even more like the later movements among
the southern Tupi-Guarani. It is not known whether any such movements
occurred in history of the Cayuá prior to the 19th century. In the Jesuit ac-
counts there are hints of what may have been incipient phases of such move- [797]
ments among the Guarani, but presumably the drastic repressive action of
the priests scotched them before they had a chance to spread far. Powerful
shamans and their predictions (and maledictions against the Catholics)
appear always to have been central in these affairs. The close similarity of the
19th century movements of the Cayuá and the Apapocuva-Guarani to those
of other Tupi-Guarani, even though remote in space or time, probably justi-
fies us in treating the matter as evidence of a more or less constant potential of
these related cultures. Properly stimulated, this potential produced sur-
prisingly like results in various places and at various times. At base, the move-
ments seemed to depend upon the prophetic statements of powerful shamans:
in view of impending great changes in their present situation, a new mode of
behavior was in order, a change of their way of life (though the change might
be backward-looking), to prepare themselves for the great day. Thus occurred
in the histories of a number of these peoples large-scale migrations in search [167]
of "the land of no evil." Little as is known of them, the Cayuá movements
are generally similar to the somewhat better documented impulses of other
groups. It is possible that the Cayuá, because of their belated direct contact
with Europeans and their longer avoidance of such contacts, had less reason
for the development of messianic cults.

III. THE HISTORY OF CAYUÁ CONTACT WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF EUROPEAN CULTURE

128 THE foregoing synopsis of Cayuá culture at the time of the European
entry will serve as a sort of backdrop or screen against which the subsequent
changes of acculturation may be better viewed. The present chapter
comprises a brief historical sketch of the contact of Cayuá and neighboring
peoples with Europeans and European culture. Most of the handicaps which
prevail in outlining aboriginal Cayuá culture also make difficult and incom-
128 plete the tracing of the history of their European contact. The Cayuá were
with little doubt, almost from the beginning of the Conquest period until
*175 almost the present, on the peripheries of effective penetration of the Europeans
648 and their ideas; apparently they were never in long standing, direct contact
with whites until quite recently. Given the difficulties mentioned, the following
paragraphs attempt a summary of what there is to be known or inferred
about the developing influences of European culture.

For ease and brevity of presentation the post-Conquest history of the region in which the Cayuá live is herein divided into several periods. The divisions are somewhat arbitrary, not being entirely according to either the Cayuá point of view or that of the Spanish or Portuguese. But in a general way, the following dates mark off periods determined primarily by shifts in the principal influences occasioned by the European advent.

I. The Spanish Conquest period, about 1530 to 1610.

II. The period of Jesuit missionization, 1610 to 1768.

III. 1768 to *ca.* 1832: Decay of the missions; disturbances; contact with *mate* workers (*yerbateros*).

IV. Religiously inspired migrations ("Contra-acculturative" movement?), 1832 to 1850.

V. 1850 to 1910, the expansion of Brazilians westward (Paraguayan War, 1865–1870).

VI. 1910 to the present: SPI influence, especially in the 1920's and 1930's. Increasing white settlement.

THE SPANISH CONQUEST PERIOD, *CA.* 1530 TO 1610

*175 The year 1530 is an approximate date at which the Spanish explorers began
648 to ascend the Paraná and Paraguay river systems from the Plate Estuary.[31]
This was also roughly the period of beginning Spanish and Portuguese trans-

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[31] The Rio de la Plata was discovered in 1516 by Juan Dias de Solis, who was killed by Charrua Indians on the initial trip. Cabot was the next to take up the project, but not until 1530, and was the first to establish bases on the Plate.

terrestrial penetration of the then "Province of Guayra" (approximately the present-day Brazilian states of Paraná and Santa Catarina) and of the territory lying largely to the north of the "Guarani" peoples and between the Paraná and Paraguay. 175* 648

Along the lower Paraná and along the Paraguay the Spanish early came in contact with Guarani-speakers.[32] They used the indigenes for carriers and for other services, and although hospitably received by the "Guarani," occasional armed conflict and the use of force early began to mark Spanish relations with the Indians. The Spanish were not long in applying the *encomienda* system to the Indians of the area, and principally to the Guarani, who were apparently more tractable than the rest. This was the same system which characterized Spanish relations with indigenes in other parts of their world empire of the 16th and 17th centuries. The general practice was for a certain piece of territory *and the inhabitants thereof* to be assigned to the use, by conquest if necessary, of a given *encomendero*. The *encomienda*, whatever may have been its suavities in theory, usually in practice amounted to little more than a licence to peonize or enslave the Indians.

There is no indication that any Cayuá came directly under this early Spanish influence. Indeed, one would hardly expect it, since by definition "Cayuá" were speakers of Guarani who, even at a much later time, remained as "wild" men in their forests, beyond the Spanish pale. Nevertheless, it seems likely that the Cayuá felt ripples, strong or weak, depending on their location, on the relatively tranquil aboriginal surface. Possibly they became territorially dislocated, either by pressure from other retreating peoples or by their own resolution to withdraw before the too powerful invaders. Their attitude may well have been one of retreat and pacific avoidance; this, at least, has been their general disposition as consistently reported by observers, early or recent. 174* 175* 648

Successful retreat and avoidance were possible for the Cayuá thanks primarily to the topography of the region in which they lived and thanks to the fact that no gold or other precious materials to interest the Spanish and Portuguese had been discovered near them.[33] Whatever and wherever the

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[32] The site of Buenos Aires is said to have been inhabited by Guarani, and Lothrop, 1932 finds that the archeology bears this out. 174*

[33] The Cayuá were fortunate in this respect in living between the two great rivers, the Alto Paraná and the Paraguay. The Alto Paraná did not present an inviting prospect to navigation because of rocks and great waterfalls which are impassable. The Paraguay, on the other hand, early became an important highway, but it led logically to the west of the Cayuá, to Bolivia and Spain's great Andean provinces where riches were known to exist. Furthermore the Cayuá seem to have lived primarily on affluents of the Paraná rather than on Paraguay drainage. (Some groups, however, may have lived on Paraguay waters prior to the threat of Mbayá and Spanish movements.) 131 648

[footnote continues on p. 46 bottom]

*174
*175 Cayuá of that day may have been, what they received of European influence
648 was for the most part received through other native peoples who became earlier Europeanized.

The acculturation of other native peoples as a result of the European advent ultimately came to have a very marked effect upon the Cayuá. One instance was the adoption of the horse and its use to implement and broaden the scope of warlike activities of Guaicuruan-speaking peoples, particularly the Mbayá-
[726] Caduveo. When these latter crossed the Paraguay in the latter half of the 17th century and carried their raids into Mato Grosso, they must have upset the previous balance of power of native groups, and the Cayuá were certainly among those affected. Possibly they were obliged to constrict territorially and to modify their activities in other ways. For many, if not all, Cayuá this menace became a part of their situation long before they were actually obliged to face the Europeans in large numbers. The Mbayá are said to have made vassals of certain peoples, such as the southern Arawak Guaná, but their principal effect on the Cayuá was that of inspiring terror, constantly threatening attack, and the killing or capturing of prisoners for slaves.

THE PERIOD OF JESUIT MISSIONIZATION, 1610 TO 1768

*175 The effect of the Jesuit missionaries on the Guarani during over 150 years
797 was, of course, considerably more conscious and organized than anything that had preceded it.[84] It involved more concern with what the priests thought was "good" for the Indians than did the policies of the lay Spanish. To the latter it often did not matter what the natives might believe or do as long as the labors desired of them were discharged. It is often overlooked, however, that other Roman Catholic missionaries were in the Paraguayan area previous to the Company of Jesus. The Franciscans were there before and after the
*174 Jesuit period, and stayed throughout, working with Indians all the while.[85]

*175 Besides the resistance of the Indians themselves, the Jesuits were con-
648 fronted with two other opponents, the lay Spanish in Paraguay, with head-
797 quarters at Asunción, and the marauding slavers known as *mamelucos* or *paulistas*. These "Portuguese" had their primary base of operations at São

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*[174] Still another point favoring Cayuá seclusion from Europeans was the doubtful status of the
[131] frontier between Spanish and Portuguese domains in the general Cayuá region. The frontier remained undecided actually until the Paraguayan War, 1865–1870.

[648] [84] The number of years credited to the Jesuits for their activity in the Paraguayan region more than does them justice since the conventional beginning date, 1610, is counted from the very inception. It was not until some time afterward that the full development of missions usually emphasized came about.

[85] The facts of Franciscan missionary activity in Paraguay seem to have suffered unjustly in the light of all the attention thrown upon the Jesuit controversy and also, perhaps, because the Franciscans wrote less about their work. The impressive propagandist efforts of the Jesuits seem as much as anything responsible for the extensive literature regarding their Paraguayan enterprise.

174* 175* 648 797 Paulo (Brazil), founded in 1554. Yet, both of the non-Indian enemies of the missionary work of the Jesuits actually in some respects increased the enrollment of the missions. The Indians, through fear of the slaving forays of the *paulistas* on the one hand and the forced labor of the Paraguayan *encomenderos* on the other, apparently were often driven or persuaded to take refuge in the missions and reductions of the Company. This was, in fact, a strong talking point of the Jesuits in enlisting prospective converts.

[101] Throughout the mission period, however, may "woods Indians" (literally "Cayuá"?), as Dobrizhoffer calls them, remained beyond the sphere of Jesuit proselytism; and geographically it was again the traditional area of the present Cayuá, largely to the north of the most famous and longest established Guarani missions, which saw the fewest inroads of Catholic religious and secular proselytism. Once more, then, our concern with major European forces for acculturation is only because of their possible, *indirect* influence on the Cayuá. The indirect influence exerted by the Jesuits through missionized Indians was much greater than could have been attributed to the Spaniards previously. The missionaries lived closer to the Cayuá; they affected larger numbers of Guarani-speakers and tried with greater seriousness and direction to remake many more aspects of the daily life and culture of the indigenes.

175* 177* 797 342 361 The Jesuit missions were villages or camps composed of barrack-like dwellings in strict military arrangement, with community buildings such as the church, storehouses, and the priest's house. The life of the missions was apparently a highly regimented one, with every attempt made by the soldiers of Christ to break the old customs and instill the new ones of obedience, belief, and work—after the patterns desired by the priests. The manner of setting up a mission was for Jesuits, singly or in pairs, accompanied by Indian proselytes who knew the country and the tongue, to strike out, usually for a region where "woods Indians" had been reported. When such a band was located, they were subjected to persuasion, either to join an already established mission, or to allow the Jesuits to establish one for them at some designated spot in that area. Gifts and sometimes feasts of beef, brought along on the hoof for the purpose, were among the blandishments calculated to encourage the pagans to submit. The Indian proselytes often also worked on their "unreduced" cousins, telling them of the joys and the wonders of life in the missions.[88]

175* 177* 797 Establishing a mission meant that the Indians were obliged to live where the Jesuits indicated, perhaps to join an already organized town. They had quarters assigned them, were presumably issued "proper" clothing, and were

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[361] [291]

[88] Such attractions as music were even employed. Dobrizhoffer, for example, played a *viola d'amor*, and other Jesuits performed on the guitar, flute, etc. It must have been a strange sight—a black gowned man of God, floating down some forest-flanked interior river in a dugout, piping or fiddling European folk tunes to the children of nature, presumably in attendance along the banks.

*175 allotted work and fields in which it was to be done. The women were often set
*177 to weaving cotton on a piece-work basis, an arrangement somewhat like that
797 which characterized the household industry of Europe of the time. Men
apparently did the agricultural work (in probable contrast to the aboriginal
[462] pattern). Most of the day's activities were directed by the priests, apparently
[286] following a strict schedule, and little was left to the will or inclination of the
[241] Indians. Under no circumstances were people to leave the reduction without
permission. Indians were appointed to various offices, mostly connected with
[62] spying, policing, and reporting what were henceforth to be considered crimes
and misdemeanors. If in one of the barracks, some nostalgic individuals gave
themselves over to practicing the old ways, particularly in matters religious,
this might well be reported. The miscreants would then almost certainly be
punished. The punishments, through the political acumen of the fathers,
were inflicted by minor officials selected from among the native proselytes
themselves.

The inculcation of orderliness and obedience to authority was very noticeable in economic matters. The missions were run as ideally as great agrarian enterprises with peon labor could be—from the point of view of discipline, organization, and centralization. Or at least such was the intent. It is not unlikely that some of the opposition on the part of the lay Spanish to the Jesuits and their work in the Paraguayan region may have been based on jealousy and envy of what must have been relatively marked material success.
[241] New crops were introduced and new agricultural methods. An attempt was
[233] made to bring stockbreeding and the use of the plow and draft animals to the
[433] understanding of the Guarani. Surpluses of *mate*, hides, and agricultural crops
[439] were produced on a notable scale for trade with the outside world.

"Outside world" was a literal concept not only because of the relative
*175 distance of many of the missions from the nearest colonial centers, but also
because the Jesuits themselves willed that their charges should be isolated
*177 and know as little as possible about what lay beyond their narrow glebes.
648 The Spanish colonials complained that the Jesuits must have mines, treasures,
797 or other secrets since they prevented or impeded the entry of outsiders into
their towns. There seems to have been much Jesuit worry that the Guarani
*174 would become restless, not so much for the towns of the Spaniards, probably,
but for their native forests. Almost everything was done to make it difficult for the natives to return; it was forbidden and attempts were punished, the "savage" way of life was ridiculed and belittled (as well as those who admitted that they still desired it), and training, especially of the young, was directed in a way that would completely unfit the Indians for any other life but that of the missions. The Guarani would be apt neither for the towns of the Spaniards, nor for the *tapŭi* of the forests. The mission organization was largely a theocracy, run by priests, and with well developed economic interests.

174*
Yet the Jesuit fear of the Indian longing for his native state was certainly 175*
not groundless. Not only did considerable numbers of free Indians still live 177*
in the neighborhood of some of the largest and best known missions, but also
now and then, individually or by families and groups, proselytes slipped 648
away, back to their forests. In other words, during practically the entire 797
Jesuit mission period there was apparently a fairly constant intercourse between the people of the missions and the people of the Guarani forests. This contact is of importance in considering mission effect on the non-missionized peoples.

The influence of the missionized upon the woods Indians was even stronger after the breakup of the mission organization. The dissolution actually began with the abandonment of all the missions to the east of the Rio Uruguay, imposed upon the order by the Treaty of 1750 between Spain and Portugal; it ended finally with the decree for the complete withdrawal of the Jesuits from Spanish America in 1767. Many of the missionized, and hence acculturated, Guarani were soon thereafter practically free to pursue their traditional ways—as much as they still knew how or found it convenient to do so. This release of the missionized Indians could hardly fail to be a great source of diffusion of European traits, inculcated in them by their Catholic masters, to the less acculturated Cayuá.[37] 174*

What specific Jesuit traits implanted in their Indian wards may have 175*
been diffused to the forest people during and following the mission period?
A careful examination of mission policy and practice gives us one side of the 177*
case.[38] In Cayuá culture today, however, the task of identifying certain accul- 797
turational features as clearly of Jesuit origin and others as of different European provenience would in most instances be fruitless. There is not much literature about the Cayuá following the break-up of Jesuit mission rule to guide us.[39] Rengger gives only a few meager clues such as to indicate that Cayuá use of crosses (and possibly some attendant religious ideas) may be of Jesuit origin. By implication no appreciable mission influence on agriculture was then to be noted—at least not among the Cayuá Rengger visited. He does not mention in this connection whether men or women were pri- [241]

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[37] It is partly for this latter reason, in the opinion of the writer, that ideas as to the present-day cultural distinctions among Guarani-speakers are so confused and conflicting in this region. Whatever the pre-existing differences among them, or whatever the differences created by the missionization of only a part of them—perhaps certain whole tribal or local groups, perhaps only some members of each of a number of such groups—aboriginal tribal and political distinctions were doubtless blurred and partly erased by the mission exodus. The criteria Müller (1934–35, *passim*) uses to distinguish the three locally recognized Guarani-speaking groups of the present East Paraguayan area may reflect primarily the degree of acculturation of these groups.

[38] Cf. Watson, J. B., *The Cayuá*.

[39] Significantly enough, there is without doubt no period prior or subsequent to that of the Jesuits which can compare in number of documentary sources regarding the indigenes of the region.

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*177 marily the cultivators, although presumably the Jesuits had tended to change
797 the aboriginal roles of the sexes in the agriculture of the missions.[80] Little
241 more can be said at this time as to the nature of Jesuit influences.

DECAY OF THE MISSIONS AND FRONTIER DISTURBANCES, 1768 TO *CA.* 1832

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797 The post-Jesuit period was marked by many disturbances and difficulties in the region of the missions. These doubtless also had their repercussions in the affairs of the Cayuá. The confusions and abuses occasioned by the change from Jesuit administration to a new one, or rather to the growing lack of any administration at all, were aggravated by the conflicts involved in the separation of Spain's Platine provinces from the mother country. Strife among the various former Spanish colonies finally resulted in the political forerunners of present Uruguay, Paraguay, and Argentina. Portugal (that is, through Brazil) became embroiled in a struggle for possession of the lands of modern Uruguay. These political changes often were accompanied by military operations, and at least several armed engagements took place.

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648 The reverberations of European colonial politics directly affected the fortunes of the Indians, though largely only those remaining in or near the missions. They were sometimes involved as troops on one side or the other, and their mission towns were sacked, besieged, used for barracks, or destroyed. The missions were also generally neglected, or the interests of the Indians were frankly controverted in spite of the avowed mission policy, the "Plan of Bucarelli."[81] Concern for the welfare of the missionized as distinct from the unmissionized indigenes diminished. The physical decay and destruction of the mission towns themselves was closely followed by the dissolution of the unusual social order instituted by the Jesuits.

During the post-Jesuit period the extraction of *mate* provided a continuing means for contact between Indians and Paraguayans. Such exploitation of the forest resources of the area had been going on since pre-Jesuit times. There had early grown up some commerce in the teastuff, both within the Platine colony itself and with Peru. Since the beginning of large-scale use of *mate* for beverage purposes, it was natural that this forest industry should often bring the *yerbateros*, or *yerba* (*mate*) workers, into brief but recurring contact with the forest peoples. Getting out the *mate* leaves in large quantities involved going into the forests, and preferably forests which had not already been cut over. Furthermore, some of the best *mate* groves seem then to have been, as they are at present, rather closely coincident with the territory occupied by the "woods Indians" or Cayuá. Azara[82] and Rengger,[83] both writing during the period in question, not only indicate *yerbatero* contact with woods Indians, but Rengger, at least, also gives some idea of its nature. He mentions the Cayuá as receiving trade goods, tools, ponchos, machetes, and knives, in exchange usually for their services in cutting *mate*, but sometimes for food supplied to *yerbateros*. One of the Cayuá met by Rengger on his journey in the early 1800's had been raised by a *yerbatero* family of creole Paraguayans and could say the *bendito*.[94] Rengger observed also that traditional hair styles and the perforation of the lip to permit the use of the *tembetá* (lip plug for male initiation) were no longer universal. This was apparently a result of acculturation and one to be observed especially among the younger men.[95]

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[80] Rengger, 1835, pp. 115–116.

[81] Cf. Hernández, 1913.

[82] Azara, 1904, pp. 407–408.

[83] Rengger, 1835, p. 111 and p. 131.

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RELIGIOUSLY INSPIRED MIGRATIONS, 1832 TO 1850

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During the first half of the 19th century, some Cayuá and other Guarani-speaking peoples from the southwestern Brazil and eastern Paraguay (?) regions emigrated from their traditional homeland; their route was toward the Atlantic. Although they seem impressively similar in character to other historic migrations of Tupi-Guarani peoples,[96] the migrations stemming from the Mato Grosso area were historically independent. Thus they represent parallelism and are not comparable to the spread from tribe to tribe of the Ghost Dance among North American Indians. There may have been some local diffusion involved, however, as between Apapocuva-Guarani, Cayuá, and possibly other groups. The years suggested in the heading of this section, 1832–1850, are those which von Ihering[97] used to date the period between the first appearance of the Cayuá in the state of São Paulo and the time when the migrations into that state ceased. The beginnings of the migration impulses, and certainly the final dwindling away of these impulses in their dynamic phase, overlap these dates.

Disappointingly little is known of this most suggestive chapter in the history of the Cayuá, as well as of the parallel events in the history of other Guarani peoples of the region. The late German-Brazilian ethnographer, Kurt Unkel Nimuendajú, to whom we may pay well-deserved tribute here in passing, dealt in the early 1900's with small remnants, largely "Apapocuva-Guarani," of some of these migrant bands. Nimuendajú knew these people at the bitter end of their fruitless attempt to reach the ocean where they felt

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[94] *Ibid.*, p. 11. A Christian prayer.

[95] There is no way to be sure that the instances of acculturation given by Rengger are necessarily due entirely to *yerbateros* and not in part to Jesuit mission influences. Nor can we be sure that Rengger is applying the term for "Woods Indians" only to ancestors of the present Cayuá and not to other closely related but more acculturated groups of Guarani-speakers. The groups visited by Rengger were, of course, those more accessible to civilization, and contact with *yerbateros* and other creoles may have been much less or actually non-existent at that time somewhat farther to the north. (A member of the Cayuá group at Taquapiri, certainly no older than 50 years, insisted in 1943 that he could personally remember the first contacts of his group with whites. This seems doubtful, since trade goods have certainly been among them for more than fifty years.) Rengger's comments do indicate, however, the general forest frontier conditions which prevailed regarding the Guarani-speaking groups.

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[96] Cf. Métraux, 1927. [97] Von Ihering, 1907.

167 they would attain "the land of no evil."[98] Beyond the immediate reason of
*175 their search for the promised land, and the prophetic leadership of powerful
*174 shamans, little more is known as to what other causes, if any, were present
648 in their situation to explain the migration impulses. Were these messianic
668 movements related to factors of white contact, for example, as they have been in other places?

That Cayuá participated, perhaps both as members of "Guarani" groups as well as in their own Cayuá bands, is indicated. Nimuendajú mentions one or two Cayuá in the "Guarani" groups he studied. It is also known, as has been mentioned, that between 1832 and 1850 Cayuá bands were entering the states of Paraná and São Paulo, to the east of their native habitat.[99] Both Sampaio and von Koenigswald, writing around the turn of the century, report Cayuá still in the valley of the Paranapanema, supposedly where they had been arrested in the course of their eastward pilgrimage.[100] Sampaio merely reports their presence and makes a few comments on the Indians, including a brief Cayuá vocabulary; but von Koenigswald goes a bit farther, apparently recognizing that the valley of the Paranapanema was not the original Cayuá habitat. Unaware (?), however, of the messianic-religious nature of their impulse to migration, von Koenigswald attributes the presence of the Cayuá here simply to disturbances and strife which had caused them to remove eastward from their homeland. This does not explain, first, why (apparently) only small numbers of the total Cayuá migrated. Second, why should this migration to escape white disturbances have taken a direction which would obviously bring the Cayuá into much closer contact than ever with westward moving Europeans? Their erstwhile career had always been one of avoidance.

A map published in 1911 gives some idea of the Cayuá remnants to be seen east of the Rio Paraná in that year.[101] Baldus discusses briefly the state of acculturation in 1928 of a group of Guarani (still extant) who at least achieved their purpose of reaching the ocean—near Santos. Their original desire was not thus to be consummated, certainly, as they found there no "land without evil."[102]

No study earlier than that of Nimuendajú is known of the Apapocuva part in the movement, and none at all is known of the role of the Cayuá. It may safely be assumed that the Cayuá motives were much akin to those of the Apapocuva-Guarani on the basis of their general cultural and linguistic similarity, their contiguous location, and the contemporaneity of the migra-

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[98] Unkel, 1914.

[99] Godoi, 1946, p. 15, very unconvincingly maintains that there were already sizeable numbers of long-established "Painguá" (Cayuá) in the state of São Paulo, at least at one locality, the *municipio* of Pirassununga, but presumably also more widely scattered. Although this particular case is poorly made and his scholarship inadequate, the possibility cannot be entirely dismissed, granted the rather inconclusive state of pertinent documentary sources.

[100] Sampaio, 1890; Von Koenigswald, 1908.

[101] Watson, J. B., 1945, or Von Ihering, 1911.

[102] Baldus, 1929.

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tions of the two groups. In their migration, the Cayuá, as well as the Apapocuva, reaffirmed their affinity with Tupi-Guarani cultures in general; for as Métraux has argued, the cultures of these peoples are somewhat disposed toward religious movements of messianic character, and the migration from southern Brazil is therefore by no means unique.[103] 175* 167 648 668

We do not know whether all groups of Cayuá (and "Guarani") participated to some extent in the movement or not. Whether the groups found today in the traditional habitat of the Cayuá were uniformly non-participants or were merely involved to a lesser extent are questions to which the answers are likewise unknown. Such details might be most significant in bringing out further the character of the movement, its messianic aspects and the role of the shamans. Certainly not all groups were equally fervent in their resolution to carry on in spite of difficulties and obstacles. The main idea seems to have been that the everyday work of the people would no longer be necessary in life, as soon as the spiritual aims, particularly the finding of "the land of no evil," were accomplished. Regular economic pursuits were to be abandoned, therefore, and the people were to prepare themselves spiritually for what was prophesied to come. Dancing ceremonies were a prominent part of the spiritual preparation, and certain groups, although probably not all—not even from the start, set out across country to find the promised land. This place was identified as being near the Atlantic Ocean, or somehow connected with it. Some groups, however, either turned back as a unit or lost a part of their cohorts as soon as they encountered the initial obstacles. Doubt and dissension as to whether to continue seem to have arisen at various times in their travels, and practically all groups finally abandoned their objective before ever reaching the ocean. An important factor in the strength of conviction of different groups was probably the prestige of their respective shaman leaders, and the extent to which the shamans themselves believed in their prophesies and trusted their interpretations of supernatural portents. [756]

The resistance of Brazilian settlers in the territories through which the pilgrims must pass was apparently very important in deflecting them from their purpose. This contact is important in Cayuá acculturation for it was the most intense and direct meeting of Cayuá with Europeans up to that date. While doubtless some groups were affected by contact much more than others, there was at least a residual effect on groups who may not have migrated at all or who may not have arrived in such proximity to the settlers as the most advanced migrants. There is no indication that the Cayuá were themselves generally aggressive in their relations with the Neo-Brazilian population, and, indeed, it would be very surprising if such were the case. Some of the relations were nevertheless marked by hostility and disadvantage to the Indians.[104] 174* 175*

In retrospect, the record of this most significant chapter in the history of 668

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[103] Métraux, 1927, *passim*.

[104] Cf. Watson, J. B., 1945, pp. 12–13.

*174 *175 668 the Cayuá has tantalizing suggestions of parallels with the Vailala Madness, the Ghost Dance, and other large scale general reactions of societies to crisis situations (contra-acculturative or nativistic movements). But the account appears to be forever lost to us except in its broad and more superficial outlines.

1850-1910: BRAZILIAN EXPANSION WESTWARD

(PARAGUAYAN WAR, 1865-1870)

*174 *175 648 The present arbitrary division of Cayuá history is particularly evident in this period: there are really no convenient markers. The period is characterized primarily by the slow movement of the European colonizers westward. The movement was much slower, considering the earlier initial dates of European settlement of the Brazilian littoral, than the westward movement of Europeans in North America; but by 1850 it had probably reached the point where it began directly to concern the Cayuá of Mato Grosso. Eighteen hundred and fifty is rather late, however, if we wish to consider the *bandeirantes*. These early Indian slavers, adventurers, and gold and diamond seekers from the state of São Paulo had already coursed large parts of the interior of Brazil, and particularly had depredated the mission territory of the Jesuits. The main period of *bandeirante* exploration was from the latter part of the 16th century to about 1750. Although the *bandeirante* movements did not generally constitute a "holding" operation—and certainly never a large scale one—it is true that here and there tiny remnants of these adventurous bands remained to eke out their existence. Their ultimate mode of life almost always was other than that of mining gold or trading in Indians, the principal original motives which had led them on. In the southern third of Mato Grosso it is apparent that there were established, perhaps long before 1850, at least a few descendants of original *bandeirante* families who had eventually become almost feudal lords of vast rude domains. In that region cattle could be efficiently produced. The European influence of such inhabitants of pastoral Mato Grosso was certainly filtered and diluted by their difficulties and lack of contact with the far distant coastal centers; for not even the western part of São Paulo state could at this time boast of much Europeanization. Besides the larger cattle owners, there were apparently also poor, degraded, marginal people, half-native and half-European (a designation which also applied fairly well to the cattlemen themselves), who doubtless acted somewhat as intermediaries for acculturational influences. Sporadic contact between these frontiersmen and the Indians—in particular, the Cayuá—is indicated by Sodré in his account of the Brazilian development of the region.[165]

An idea of the degree of development of the Paulista west is given in Godoi's statement that "Somewhat before 1823 the first [white] travellers arrived in these territories [region of Rio Claro and Pirassununga], perhaps a caravan

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[165] Sodré, 1941, *passim*.

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with valuable goods or driving herds."[106] (The opposite migration of some of the Cayuá themselves, already dealt with foregoing, supposedly began only a few years afterward.) In 1855 there was a short-lived attempt to settle Cayuá Indians on a reservation in the state of Paraná, at Loreto de Pirapó, a former mission site on a tributary of the Paranapanema.[107] These latter events, however, affected primarily the more easterly groups of Cayuá, those who had crossed the Paraná; the bulk of the Cayuá were still located in southern Mato Grosso and eastern Paraguay.

In 1865–1870, however, there came a series of events which brought the Europeans to the front doorstep, so to speak, of even the less adventurous Cayuá. The Paraguayan War, little known to Americans because of our own contemporary preoccupations, fell within this period. From the sources consulted, it does not seem that the Cayuá participated as troops or auxiliaries on either side, although de Taunay mentions a number of other groups of Indians of the general region as having been variously "loyal" or "traitorous" to the Brazilians.[108] Nevertheless, even as bystanders, the Cayuá could hardly have been entirely unaffected by the alarums and excursions occasioned by the campaigns of the military. Frontier skirmishes took place near their territory, military supplies and troops were moved across southern Mato Grosso, and many more Brazilians, including Negro slaves become soldiers, came into the area than ever before. Some of the soldiers stayed in the region, adding to the numbers of the intrepid *sertanejos* (inhabitants of the *sertão* or interior) who had already become established there as cattlemen. With the passage of time, it was becoming less and less possible for the Cayuá to remain the wary "people of the forest" as of old; while they still stayed largely on the fringes of civilization as best they could, civilization was now advancing toward them, and white activity on its frontier was becoming more intense and varied. With a renewed interest in the southern frontier part of her territory as a result of the Paraguayan War,[109] Brazil saw the early forerunners of her "*marcha para o oeste*" reinforced.

Cattle have always been for Europeans the principal wealth in southern Mato Grosso and are so still today. But in the extreme south grow the natural groves of *mate* trees, and the turn of the century witnessed the extension of large-scale and well organized *mate* industry north from Paraguay and Argentina into southernmost Mato Grosso. The name of one company, with comparatively great resources, was largely associated with this development, the *Companhia Matte Larangeira*, of Spanish and Argentine connections. The sites of their operations in Brazil have moved from time to time, but almost all

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[106] Godoi, 1946, p. 9. Surely the *bandeirantes* are being excepted here.

[107] Von Koenigswald, 1908. [108] Taunay, Visconde de, 1931, *passim*.

[109] As far as Brasil was concerned, the war with Paraguay was partly a matter of the claim of that country to a large part of southern Mato Grosso. Here, very likely, there were as many people living who could be called "Paraguayans" as "Brazilians."

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*175 648 [464] have been precisely in the region where the Cayuá live. Cayuá were occasionally employed as workers by the company—although Paraguayans seem to be preferred for most of the back-breaking, miserably paid types of work which are the lot of the Indians and *mestisos*. The *mate* enterprise in Mato Grosso has, therefore, been another and recent avenue of acculturational contact for the Cayuá. The extension of a large scale development of the *mate* resources north from Paraguay, however, was but a modernized version of the same type of forest exploitation which had long been going on to the south and which had, since the days before the Jesuits, brought the Paraguayans into intermittent contact with the forest-dwelling peoples.

Unlike cattle and *mate*, which were directly responsible for bringing small numbers of settlers to the region itself, the moving forward of the coffee frontier in São Paulo affected directly only those Cayuá who had migrated across the Rio Paraná. But the westward advance of coffee cultivation in the late 19th and 20th centuries did bring Neo-Brazilians closer to the eastern frontier of Mato Grosso and tended to strengthen settlements already there. Moreover, some immigrants spilled over into the newer state when they felt the need of new lands to conquer.

[496] [657] By 1914 a narrow gauge railroad had been laid, connecting São Paulo centers with the Mato Grosso cattle town of Campo Grande. Several trains a week began to arrive from Baurú in São Paulo state (where a "Guarani" reservation was still located when Nimuendajú made his Apapocuva study). A few more years saw the railroad push on almost to Corumbá on the Paraguay River. Thus nearly the entire southern, and narrower, section of the state of Mato Grosso—which lies between the two rivers—was girded, from the Paraná to the Paraguay.[110]

[496] [361] Although the *Estrada de Ferro Noroeste do Brasil* lay several hundred miles to the north of Taquapiri, other Cayuá villages were located as much as half the distance closer to the line. The general influence of the railroad was felt in the opening up of communication to the east and in the increasing [439] flow of goods from Brazilian ports and coastal city industries. Trade goods, with little doubt, became considerably easier for the Indians to obtain at this time whereas they had been difficult enough even for the white settlers before. Here and there throughout the southern part of the state, in tiny Neo-Brazilian hamlets and in the few small towns, general stores or trading posts

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[110] "*A Estrada de Ferro Noroeste do Brasil*," still a narrow gauge line, is today (1943) operated with no important improvements in rail or rolling stock since its inception. It is the only railroad in southern Mato Grosso, or, indeed, in the entire enormous state, unless one considers the little "Madeira-Mamoré" line in the north. (This is nothing but a rail connection between fluvial communications on those two rivers.) The "*Noroeste do Brasil*" is ultimately destined, by an international treaty long since signed, to be a joint Bolivian-Brazilian enterprise giving inland Bolivia a continuous rail connection with Campinas, São Paulo, and the port of Santos, and hence a fairly effective outlet to the sea. Recently a small branch line has been built from the main *Noroeste* line south to the Brazilian town of Ponta Porã, on the Paraguay frontier. This will further stimulate Neo-Brazilian penetration, consolidation, and development of the region.

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grew up. At the present time, these are supplied partly by motor trucks which link them to the railroad towns. The trucks are usually operated by small, individual owners, whose trade and tradition are closely related to that of the older oxcart drivers. Many more of the latter than truck drivers still traverse the frontier region at present, earning their living by moving merchandise. Both trucks and oxen operate over incredibly crude roads; there are now Chevrolets and Fords where there should be only oxcarts—or perhaps prairie schooners, if such a suitable innovation were to be introduced.

THE *SERVIÇO DE PROTEÇÃO AOS INDIOS*, 1910 TO THE PRESENT

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The second decade of the 20th century saw the continuing general increase of white settler population, the growth of a few villages into small towns like Ponta Porã, and the development of limited communications (the railroad) with Brazil's coastal centers. But the major factor justifying setting off one more period between 1850 and the present was the projection and establishment of the SPI. In fact, the establishment of the SPI was a result of the population and development of the interior of Brazil; the Neo-Brazilian had been brought more and more into contact with indigenes who had up to that time escaped the fate of their more coastally living cousins.

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The activity of the frontiersman was often unfortunate in its effect upon the native peoples, though doubtless the Neo-Brazilian alleged that primarily it was he who suffered at the hands of the *bugre* (pejorative term for the Indian). The details of frontiersman-Indian relations on such relatively near frontiers as the west of the state of São Paulo diminish not a little the contentions of writers like Gilberto Freyre that the Portuguese colonizers were particularly exempt from the disposition to regard other races as sub-human. Godoi alleges that the Indians living in that region were unacquainted with the difference between bitter and non-poisonous manioc (!). To prevent garden robbing the settlers about Pirassununga allegedly thus conceived the idea of planting the bitter or poisonous variety.[111] Von Ihering, certainly no advocate of sentimental or exceptionally humanitarian treatment of the aborigines, relates that professional Indian hunters or *bugreiros* existed on the frontier. Indiscriminate depredations were carried out by the Neo-Brazilians in reprisal for Indian aggressions, often with little attention to whether the resulting victims were the original perpetrators or even of the same tribe.[112] Actually various islands of Kaingang among the advancing Brazilians maintained markedly hostile relations with the frontiersmen until surprisingly late times (easily into the 1900's)—this east of the Paraná. But the Cayuá were little inclined toward aggressions against the settlers; their activity was probably more of the garden-robbing variety. However, the implication is that they occasionally suffered from the frontiersmen for other than their own acts. It was conditions such as these that called into being a federal agency to deal with the Indians.

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[111] Godoi, 1946, p. 26.

[112] Von Ihering, 1907.

775 648 657 The SPI was founded in 1910, and among the first regional *inspetorias* to be formed was that of southern Mato Grosso, with present seat in Campo Grande. Under the administration of this local office came the "Caioás" who were calculated to be "the most numerous tribe of the south of the state" (Mato Grosso). In other words, while the founding of the SPI did not immediately affect the affairs of the vast majority of Brazilian tribes—and still today scarcely affects some groups—the Cayuá were at the other end of the scale, being among the first to be singled out by the Indian Service.

Founded at the instigation of Brazil's famous explorer, Indianist, and modern frontiersman, General Cândido Mariano da Silva Rondon, the *Serviço* reflected Rondon's concern for the Indians. They should receive some definition and guarantee of their rights, protection from frontier abuses, and guidance particularly of a non-clerical and non-sectarian sort, in the problems [797] of adjustment to the new conditions facing them. It was common practice merely to sign over the souls of all the native inhabitants of this or that vast tract of Brazilian territory to some Roman Catholic order. The bland assumption was often made that in this way all was therefore arranged for the best of the respective Indians.[119] Rondon had seen at first hand many tribes in their natural setting and he was well aware of the abuses, secular and clerical, from which they suffered.

Specifically the plan of the SPI was to organize regional *inspetorias* and local posts, as many as were needed, and, where possible, new ones as soon as they were needed owing to a recent advance of the frontier. As soon as land became a question, the Indian territories were to be duly defined and registered. Complaints by Indians of land or other transgressions of Brazilians were to be lodged with the *encarregado* of their local post, and this officer was in all matters to serve as intermediary between whites and Indians. The *Serviço* would also play a positive role in urging the Indians to adopt measures which seemed to their best interests. [871] Schools for Indians were to be established wherever feasible.

648 871 657 For many reasons, not our direct concern here, the effect of the *Serviço* has not always been exactly what it was designed to be. Among the Cayuá, the schools affect only a very limited number of children—even of those who happen to live in the local group where a post is located. There are no dormitory or transportation facilities provided—the very idea would be ridiculous and unheard of in the present context. Practically nobody outside the immediate area of the post is therefore affected by the school. Schooling is at the hands of the wife of the *encarregado* in at least two of the three posts of the Cayuá, and neither of these women in 1943 had even as much as a complete grade school education. Nor did either have any special conception of what kind of teaching Cayuá, as distinct from Brazilian, children might put to advantage. The children are taught allegiance, the national anthem, and national lore, and some of the children's lore with which Brazilians in general

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[119] Such vast territories are, however, assigned to Roman Catholic orders still today.

grow up. It is scarcely conceivable that these things can have much meaning 648
for Cayuá children. Some attempt is made to teach elementary reading and
simple numbers, but it would be a surprise to the writer to learn that any 871
important and lasting result is achieved in this. The number of children 657
receiving instruction is small in relation to the untaught; school is held for
only a small part of the year and is quite irregular. The level of teaching is
low, unprofessional, and little adapted to Cayuá needs or comprehension. The [177]*
result is simply that the school as a factor of acculturation certainly cannot be great, particularly in relation to its potentialities. Cayuá schools are not attended by Brazilian children but only by Cayuá (1943), which closes one other possible avenue of Brazilianization.

Two principal results of SPI policy stand out in the case of the Cayuá. 648
One is the confinement of the indigenes to reservations which have been
assigned them and whose limits have been drawn and recorded; and the other 657
is that the Cayuá are now guaranteed freedom from any large scale attack on their persons or rights, either by whites or by other Indians This was not formerly the case when they were subject, as has been mentioned, to attacks of both Indians and white settlers.

In general the Cayuá are now allowed to work out their destiny as they see fit so long as this does not raise a troublesome question on which the *encarregado* would have to take a stand. The *encarregado* generally keeps a light finger on the local pulse, often informally through his Cayuá house servants or other favorites. Often, if not always, he makes the real decision in naming the *capitão* and *sargento*, the civil or police authority in the local group. These officers would presumably look to the *encarregado* for backing if their position in their own groups were for some reason not equal to a difficult situation. This dependence is more likely to be true of groups located within easy range of the post, however, than of those at considerable distance. SPI practice, as observed by the writer in southern Mato Grosso, does not seem calculated to develop self-reliance in the Cayuá; rather it is aimed merely at keeping some sort of opportunistic peace in white-Cayuá relations.

The attitudes of local settlers toward the Indians, often expressed openly, 648
and, in any case, obvious in their behavior toward the Cayuá, is one of tacit superiority. The Indians "are not really people" (*gente*); they are merely "forest creatures," "children" ("*bichos do mato*," "*crianças*"). And often, when not cheated or threatened, they are treated with an attitude of amused contempt. In some respects both the *encarregados* of Cayuá posts known by the writer shared more in this widespread point of view than in the high-minded idealism of the SPI creed.

As far as is known, no special effort is made by the SPI Cayuá posts to 648
improve agriculture or introduce new crops or methods. It is possible that 177*
some of the Indians may learn new ways from working in the clearing (*roça*)
of the *encarregado* or that he may casually suggest some new practice to 241
them or jokingly chide them for doing something which he considers useless 657

648 *177 241 657 or inefficient. This is ordinarily no more than the same Indians might learn from the settler for whom they work. The *encarregado* is among some of the Indians more than the ordinary settler, however, and whatever influences he may exert are, therefore, more intensive and frequent than those of most other Brazilians.

648 657 797 The official attitude of the SPI toward religion and missionization is neutral. They do not themselves catechize the Indians as a part of the policy of the *Serviço*, and they are indifferent, varying in given local cases from personal friendliness to mild antagonism, toward the missionaries. These the *Serviço* personnel often regard with a view similar to that of many field ethnographers.[114] Rondon himself and many of his associates are members of the Brazilian so-called "*Igreja Positivista*" ("Positivist Church"), and the *Serviço* in general has the reputation of being oriented philosophically in that direction. This is perhaps surprising in a Catholic country like Brazil where in many other respects the government feels under no restraint as far as making large official concessions to Rome.

As for the Cayuá, they seem to be the somewhat unusual case (for Catholic countries) in which Protestant missionaries have become more thoroughly established than Catholic ones. At least two of the three SPI posts of the Cayuá have Protestant missionaries, long established. At one of these, União, there are no other missionaries and no other church of any kind; and at the other post, Dourados, a Protestant group has a much more extensive and well-rooted establishment than the Catholics, with a resident physician, an orphanage and nursery-school, and a good name in the region. [159] (The physician, in fact, is the only qualified person of his profession for many miles. In this respect, the Indians are, therefore, much better cared for than the local Brazilian settlers, except as the latter may in emergencies enlist the aid of the mission.)

*177 797 [294] No great inroads of conversion seem to have been made, but the writer is qualified to speak only of the more southerly post at União. There the (female) missionary said frankly she did not have a single convert. The missions, nevertheless, exert a certain influence even without nominal conversion, both in the spiritual and secular spheres. At União the mission house is a center for a sizeable circle of women who gather to learn to operate hand sewing machines and incidentally to do much of their sewing work on machines [562] which the mission owns. Because this missionary is a woman, her effect is notably greater in the woman's sphere than among the men of the group. (There was formerly a male American missionary and his wife stationed [533] here.) Evangelical hymns translated into Guarani (for the general Paraguayan area) are taught as well as Christian precepts and homilies, sewing, gardening, and cooking. Any lasting effects of this work, however, are probably reduced

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[123] [114] Nor are they initially disposed to greet the ethnographer with open arms; some very amateurish individuals representing themselves as ethnographers have not helped the situation.

somewhat by the fact that many of the local Brazilians live in a manner not 177* markedly different, in the missionary view, from that of the present Cayuá. (This is not true of a majority.) The direct influence of the mission here, like 797 that of the SPI post itself, is concentrated in the one local Cayuá group and scarcely filters beyond, except by verbal account. Much of the nominal adherence of some of the local Indians to the mission seems to be based on its material advantages. The use of sewing machines, gifts of food and clothing, and suggestions concerning remedies, health, and particulars of domestic art are the reward of those who attend the prayer meetings and informal services, and who in general associate themselves with the mission.[115] Summing up the mission influence in the South to date, it could certainly not yet be called profound, even among the Cayuá where the mission is located, and it is largely absent elsewhere.

The *Inspetoria do* SPI which administers the Indian affairs of the Cayuá 648 area is located at Campo Grande and was one of the first, if not the first, to be established. 657 The local post which has jurisdiction over the village of Taquapiri, the particular group from which materials central to this monograph were secured, was established rather recently, about 1930. This post, "Benjamin Constant"—SPI posts are generally named for famous men of Brasil, is some twenty miles distant from Taquapiri over a two-rut oxcart road, also passable in the dry season and with difficulty by motor trucks.[116]

The children of Taquapiri do not go to school and very likely do not even [871] know what school is, though some of their cousins twenty miles away at the post are at least aware of schools.[117] The Cayuá of Taquapiri may be visited by the *encarregado* as few as two or three times a year.[118] Such visits entail

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[115] There may, however, be some interest of a spiritual sort as well. A group of Cayuá men [756] from our village, including a shaman in training, made the twenty-five mile trip with us to the post one time on foot, partly to visit the missionary, to hear her play her accordion and sing hymns [533] with Guarani words. There was, probably, as much musical interest—unusual songs with Guarani words—as spiritual interest.

[116] Motor trucks pass by Taquapiri once or twice a week during the dry season, or less often, [648] on their way to Nhu Verá. Taquapiri is a good half-mile from the road, and the Indians know the trucks principally only by sight and sound—they are simply of another world. [494] When as many as two trucks a day go by—as happened once or twice during our stay, it is stated by the local settlers that something unusual must be afoot. There are no public garages or fuelling places, that the writer knows of, in the entire region because there are not enough motor vehicles to require it. Gasoline is simply carried along by the trucks themselves or may occasionally be bought in cans in some of the larger towns.

[117] The Cayuá children are not greatly different from many local Brasilian children in this [871] ignorance of schools, however, for probably a majority of the latter will grow up and die with no formal schooling. There is no school of any sort for the settlers in the region about Taquapiri and [648] only a poor elementary one at União itself, the nearest "center," but too far to travel for schooling.

[118] There was no occasion to observe this frequency. We were merely told by the *encarregado* that he made it a point to visit Taquapiri every few months. He came twice during our entire five month stay, one time being when he accompanied us to visit Taquapiri initially.

648 little beyond casual inspection and brief questioning of the local officers.
Taquapiri has a *capitão* and a *sargento*, in part selected and by necessity
657 approved by the *encarregado*.[119] *Sargento* and *capitão* have tacitly understood,
though quite limited, authority and prerogatives now but no pay, badge of
office, nor other special considerations. If any difficulty arises which could not
conceivably die of its own accord, the *encarregado* may be compelled to intervene;
otherwise, he might not even hear of it or would choose to ignore the
report. The *encarregado* of "Benjamin Constant" stated in 1943 that he had
not been visited by nor himself gone to see the chief of the region of which his
post is an administrative part for a considerable number of years. All in all,
the policy of the SPI toward the Cayuá is largely a passive or negative one,
at least in its net effect. Certainly no program was in evidence which was
calculated to introduce large-scale, consciously directed change. That undirected
change of significance may come about in any case, however, is quite
evident from the visible results of SPI activity or lack of it.

648 By far the most important single channel of acculturational influence at
the present is the practice of local settlers to employ Cayuá to work for
464 them in their clearings (*roças*) as "peons" (*peões*). The employment of Indians
is not necessarily linked to any large-scale activity which makes it indispensable
for the settlers to have more labor than their own families provide but is
partly related to prestige factors in the local Neo-Brazilian culture.[120] At any
rate, the practice results in a larger number of contacts between Neo-Brazilians
and Cayuá (men) and for longer periods of time than any other of the gamut
of local white-Indian relations. Although great intimacy could hardly be
claimed for the relations of *peão* and *patrão*, they are at least as intimate as
any others between Cayuá and settler. The *peão-patrão* relationship is discussed
in detail under a subsequent heading (see pp. 75–78), but it may be emphasized
here that men are almost exclusively involved in these inter-ethnic
191 relations. At Taquapiri only a handful of men speak Portuguese with any
proficiency, and many speak it not at all. But there is not a single woman
562 in the village who can speak Portuguese (or Spanish) except for a few loanwords,
*178 mostly borrowed along with the alien culture traits to which they
refer.[121] Thus among the Cayuá, as in many places elsewhere in the world,
where comparable acculturational situations have occurred, the women are
perforce the cultural conservators.

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[119] The use of these titles, largely as honorific appellations, seems to derive from the early colonial period when the Europeans sought to curry favor with certain individuals by thus flattering them.

[120] Cf. Watson, V. D., 1945, pp. 159–160.

[121] The same acculturational difference between men and women may not everywhere be as great among Cayuá, but the condition generally holds.

IV. CAYUÁ CULTURE: THE PRESENT

SINCE points of acculturational change are primarily stressed in our study, 121
this chapter is limited to matters in which the present Cayuá differ significantly from the past. But, while no complete description is anticipated 128
here, the main outlines of the modern culture of the Cayuá (at Taquapiri, specifically) should nevertheless become apparent.[128] As much as possible, the various aspects of modern culture will be presented in this chapter in the same order as corresponding aspects of the aboriginal Cayuá described in Chapter II. However, where not merely modifications of the aboriginal but clear additions have been made, the earlier sequence cannot be strictly adhered to.

Only *results* of the acculturational process, as it has so far been effective, are discussed here, not the factors of acculturation in the causal sense. Thus, to take a simple case, metal tools and what metal tools mean in the present technology are noted. How the Cayuá obtained these tools, the factor of acculturation in this given instance, is not the question for the moment. To cite another example, it is pointed out that Cayuá agriculture is quite different in a number of respects from what it used to be; for one thing, it has become relatively much more important in the total economy than formerly. But in this chapter the reasons for the transformation are not discussed. The analysis of acculturation in terms of the factors affecting and effecting it, the processes which led to the present culture, will be left for Chapter V. For the moment we are merely interested in what 1943 Cayuá culture looks like, as compared to the old.

ECONOMY

TECHNOLOGY AND MATERIAL CULTURE

The most notable technological change from the past is with respect to 177*
the adoption of certain metal implements which the Cayuá obtain from the
whites. In order of their importance, these metal tools are machetes (usually 412
called by this Spanish name, although Portuguese *facão* is also occasionally used), axes, and hoes (both also called by their Spanish or Portuguese names).
The adopted implements are used primarily in agriculture, although they also [241]
have other applications. There has been a complete replacement of aboriginal implements formerly used for work which can now be accomplished by these metal tools, and this must have happened a considerable time ago since there are scarcely any traditions of the older tools.[129] The importance of the machete

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[128] An ethnographic monograph is being written which will provide many details in which the present paper, for the reason of its particular concern, may be lacking.

[129] One informant—not an elder—told the writer that he had heard that in the old days some sort of stone axes and hoes were used, but he didn't know what kind of "machete" there might have been. Probably there was no aboriginal equivalent for the machete, so that this is a pure addition rather than a substitution of a more efficient modern implement.

*177 and the axe—the first in particular—to Cayuá agriculture can scarcely be
412 overestimated. It is possible to clear larger pieces of forest at present than
formerly, expending both less effort and less time to do so. It is no longer
241 necessary to depend so heavily upon burning and reburning, nor to gather and
pile up brush about the trunks of large trees to remove them by fire. With the
use of the hoe and machete it is possible to keep crops freer of weeds; a clean
kokwé is now largely a matter of the industriousness of its owner. Formerly it
was much more difficult or technologically impossible to weed frequently.

*177 Machetes are the most important metal implement of all, for agriculture
412 and for many other applications. Practically every adult male owns at least
one machete, though it is usually a poor one, much diminished by resharpening
or breaking of the point. Old machetes are relegated to household use when
they become too small for field work (and this must be very small because some
men are obliged to continue to use knives worn or broken down to no more than
a foot in length). In the household they are used to pull roasted tubers from
the fire, in the preparation of food, and the like. The old machetes are also
used by the women for short digging implements in getting food from the
kokwé.

Not everyone owns a hoe or an axe, but axes seem to be the second most
[426] essential (and the most expensive) metal implement. Borrowing is usually
possible, or the machete is simply made to do instead. Axes are primarily used
[313] in fetching and splitting firewood—although a machete will serve up to a
point—and in felling the larger trees in the forest for clearing a *kokwé*. Felling
the largest trees is very heavy and difficult work and usually impossible with
[241] a machete. The hoe is entirely restricted to agriculture, whereas axes and
[342] machetes both may be used in housebuilding and honey gathering, and machetes are also employed in certain kinds of hunting—usually with dogs—and
[222] other activities. The hoe is used in weeding and in opening holes for planting
[241] certain crops. Women have more to do with hoes than with either of the other
[224] white-introduced tools, which are generally considered implements of male use.

In agriculture, practically the only aboriginal implement remaining today
[562] is the digging and planting stick, or *sarakwá*. Corn, especially, is always planted
with the *sarakwá*, and the implement actually has much to recommend it in
*178 the log and stump-strewn *kokwé*. The *sarakwá* is primarily, if not exclusively,
412 an implement of female use. Bamboo knives, aboriginal implements, though
[241] possibly not used in agriculture, have fallen into general discard except in
their ritual use in severing the natal cord of the newborn infant—an example
[844] of conservatism of technology associated with ritual practices.

Before leaving the subject of metal tools introduced by way of accultura-
*177 tion, mention should be made of the use of the machete in modern house-
342 building. Most obvious is the present wide-spread use of a type of "board"
412 made from large trunks of *taquara* bamboo, split open and flattened in a man-

ner which could hardly have been possible without the machete. *Taquara* 177*
"boards" have no convenient application in connection with the older style 342
of house, the *tapüi*. But they are more often than not used in building the 412
smaller, individual family houses of the present day, which are peculiarly
adapted to their use (see below, pp. 84–85).

The use of canoes by the aboriginal Cayuá has been mentioned, although it 177*
is not borne out by their employment or manufacture at the present. If canoes 178*
were formerly used, the lack of them now would seem in some way related to
acculturation and hence deserves mention here. Without canoes, the Cayuá do 501
not travel extensively by families or groups. What travelling they do is done on
foot—or individually by horse, in the case of a very few who own them. Although they may have been only slightly less sedentary aboriginally than now,
it is probable that with canoes the Cayuá were formerly able to range much
farther afield (or astream), using their villages as bases.

The ceramic art barely survives at Taquapiri. None of the younger women 178*
is learning to be a potter, and there are only four remaining potters among the
oldest women. Of the four only two have recently made or intend to make any 323
pottery in the near future, and even with them its manufacture is very irregular. Many of the girls and young women have never even seen pottery being 178*
made nor apparently expect to. The iron kettle and the tin can have almost 415
entirely usurped the former place of pottery, and by far a majority of the
households possess no pots of clay whatever. The woman's pipe, formerly of [276]
either wood or clay, tends to be of wood alone today. The conventional water [824]
gourd, and gourds and armadillo shells for other types of containers, however,
have not declined in use. As a matter of fact, the gourd as a water vessel is
quite practical and is to be found in not a few of the Neo-Brazilian households
of the region. This continued use of gourds may derive some indirect advantage [534]
from the fact that gourds are also raised for use as *mbăraká*, ceremonial rattles,
which are far from waning in importance.

Men's carrying bags or containers for personal objects, *mbŏkói* (?), differ [482]
from the aboriginal ones; nor are they now usually objects of the native weaver's art as formerly. Men's double carrying bags of store cloth, something like [562]
small saddle bags, are slung over the shoulder, with one pocket hanging in
front and one at the back. They constitute an exclusively male method of
carrying, but are only occasionally worn, however. For small personal objects
the only container observed was a little leather pouch, probably Cayuá-made,
fastened at the belt, and used by boys and men.

Clothing, except for men's belts, is now entirely of store cloth. It is home 177*
sewn (with trade needles and thread), and the styles are typically Cayuá. 291
Presumably they reflect the style of army uniforms at one time issued to the
Indians. Thus men's trousers are apparently modelled on original military or
riding breeches, since forgotten, which fit closely at the knee. Even in the

*177 291 home-made product turned out today, these breeches have completely nonfunctional strings at the bottom, below the calf, as if intended for use with (non-existent) stockings, boots, or puttees. The Cayuá do not even tie the "vestigial" leg strings but let them hang free. Men's shirts generally follow what was probably some former long-sleeved European model. They do not open completely in front, being only partly cut down from the neck.

Women wear sack-like dresses of store cloth, which may not be entirely different from the so-called *tipôi* dress of aboriginal times. They correspond generally to the shapeless "Mother Hubbards." There may be some influence here from the dresses introduced by the Jesuits.

*177 *178 178 286 291 Men's belts are woven much as formerly, but the material is now more often *caraguatá* fiber than native cotton—despite the fact that a belt of cotton is usually preferred.[134] In spite of the preference for cotton, however, practically none of it is raised now by the Cayuá at Taquapiri. The laborsome use of native cotton has been obviated by store-bought cloth in many respects other than belts, and the fiber of the wild *caraguatá* will serve the few remaining purposes of the domestic textile plant.

Caraguatá fiber is now used almost exclusively for making hammocks, although some informants insisted that the cotton hammock was preferable. Except for present tying of hammocks and weaving of belts, nothing survives of the aboriginal textile art, which supposedly had once attained a modest development among the Cayuá.

*178 824 283 237 Various wild fibers are still twisted to make lines for fishing and cords for heavier purposes, but human hair is no longer used to make belts or wristlets and anklets. *Caraguatá*, *pindó* palm, and *mbokadjá* fibers are the most frequently used today.

*178 881 304 The lip stick, or *tembetá*, of resin is still in use at Taquapiri, and an initiation of a number of boys took place shortly prior to our arrival in the village in 1943. The main feature of the initiation is the perforation of the lower lip for the insertion of the *tembetá*. However, Taquapiri is reputedly alone among the Cayuá villages of its immediate neighborhood in conserving this trait; the *tembetá* has been completely abandoned among the younger men of the village where the SPI post "Benjamin Constant" is located, near União. Even at Taquapiri, moreover, there are several young men, long past the age of lip perforation, married and with children, who do not use the *tembetá* for never [825] having been initiated. Their fellows twit them about being mere "boys," and they are said to be in special danger from jaguars, but it seems likely that they are only the first representatives at Taquapiri of what has been the trend away from the practice elsewhere among the Cayuá.

*178 302 Face painting with *urucú'*, a reddish plant substance widely used in South

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[134] One of the Cayuá women spied a large ball of cotton string we had and with considerable enthusiasm suggested making belts out of it, which they did.

America, is still practiced by the women and children. No use of the dark 178*
genipá, a plant substance also widely used for painting, was observed by the 302
writer, but it may be that this color has a special and extraordinary purpose.
No extensive feather work was in evidence, but it is clear that the bright 178*
colored feathers, especially of the toucan and parrot, are still used to make
colorful little swatches and tassels to decorate wooden crosses (*kurusú* from 237
Spanish *cruz*), *mbaraká*, and wooden whistles. Feathers may also be still used 301
with cotton head bands, armbands, and collars for ceremonial wear; examples
of such pieces were observed, though not in use. These feathered paraphernalia,
however, are in no wise as spectacular as the feather work that has come to be
associated with the aboriginal Tupi of the coast; in fact, they are rather plain.

Of household furnishings, hammocks, carved, small wooden benches, 178*
mortars and pestles, and large wooden troughs for *cãwĩ'* are still made. The 352
wooden benches of the Cayuá at Taquapiri are simple affairs and very plain,
and no attempt was made in the benches seen to represent forms from nature. 415
The only decoration, if any, is of simple lines and dots of red paint applied to 531
the two flat sides of the bench. Mortars and pestles have lost none of their
utility and are, in fact, universally in use by the Neo-Brazilians of the region, 178*
as well as by the Cayuá. They are employed by the Indians primarily for 415
pounding corn, though the "horizontal" mortar is used for smashing sugar
cane for its juice. The axe and the machete have so facilitated the manufacture [252]
of *cãwĩ'* troughs that the largest trees in the forest can now be felled and con- [322]
verted into containers for making this beer. The only limitation concerning
their size is that the trough must be transportable from the place where the [273]
tree grew. There is little question that the present communal *cãwĩ'* trough at
Taquapiri is the largest ever—at least in the minds of those who made it—and
they are probably right. The number of such beer troughs is now smaller in
relation to the population than formerly, but this is not directly related to any
technological factor.

Basketry, men's work, does not appear to have suffered greatly compared 177*
with its aboriginal state, although here, as in so many other places, scant infor- 178*
mation is available. Firefans, women's back carrying baskets with woven
tumplines, crude temporary baskets for hand carrying, and trays of many 285
sizes for straining and winnowing are still made, much as ever. Acculturation [462]
has possibly resulted in an increase in the number of woven rattan strainers
and winnowing trays manufactured. This is because the Cayuá product is now
used (for the same purposes) by most of the local Neo-Brazilian settlers.

Musical instruments of the present-day Cayuá include *mbaraká* gourd 177*
rattles, *takwapú* (stamping tubes of *taquara*), tiny musical bows, flutes and 178*
wooden whistles. It may be that the aboriginal Cayuá did not have such in-
struments as the musical bow, although white acculturation is not indicated as 534
their source. No guitars or violins of any sort, home-made or bought, were seen

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*178 at Taquapiri, although Cayuá elsewhere, particularly those of the lower Paraná
region, are quite familiar with these musical instruments, perhaps dating from
534 Jesuit times.

THE ANNUAL ECONOMIC CYCLE

221 At the present time, the annual economic cycle for both men and women is
almost completely adapted to the agricultural calendar. It is possible that the
241 total male-female round of activity was not seasonal in the same way when
*[178] men were responsible only for the cutting, burning, and clearing part of cultivation. This latter work has its season, of course, but we may well suppose that
the rest of the year was not apportioned for the men in the same way as now.

The principal months of the growing season are October, November, December, January, and February, but the limits are not sharply defined. In 1943 several people had corn shoots up by September 17, although much of this was lost in an unexpected frost. This seasonal latitude is impressive to an ethnologist familiar with the crucial difference of a few days' or a week's growing time in some of the aboriginal agriculture of the United States. The Cayuá growing season is easily long enough for more than one planting in the same ground of several of the faster growing crops, including certain beans and even corn. Mishaps because of unseasonal frosts are rare with careful planning. But many Cayuá do not capitalize much upon the possibility of successive plantings, and probably none attempts it to the maximum. Because of a late or bad burning people are often late with their planting, and there is then not enough time left for growing a second crop in the same ground. Planting of slower crops like corn may start as early as the middle of August, and many Cayuá have beans, peanuts, and corn fairly well along by mid or late September. Potatoes, which are not as critical regarding the cold, may be planted as early as July. The agricultural potential, at least regarding the growing season, can thus be said to be more than adequate for Cayuá demands and ambitions at present.

August is in many ways as close as one can come to a general turning point for the beginning of the new agricultural year. From May to August are the months in which the Cayuá prefer to work in *changa;* they usually feel that they cannot let things go much later. Some preparatory work on their own *kokwé* may be done in the meantime, however, even by the peons; and those who do not work as peons, of course, devote considerable time to their clearings during the months from May to August. Variation is quite marked from one individual to the next for the time of cutting and burning *kokwé* and for planting the various crops, and therefore, of course, for ripening and harvest. Some people may already have had corn up a whole month while others are still burning their *kokwé* preparatory to clearing. The different extent to which individuals engage in wage work for whites is one present cause of such individual differences of farming schedule.

Slashing activity preparatory to burning should be completed somewhat 221
in advance of the end of the dry season, preferably by August. The trunks, 241
limbs, and foliage of the cut vegetation will then be partly dried out in order to burn well. Sometimes the cutting for the coming season may start as early as April. But a surprising number of Cayuá are remiss in attending to their clearing activities in sufficient time to get a good burning. Thus there are complaints of rains which came before they should have and impeded the burning, and other similar difficulties. In 1943, some *kokwé* were still being burned by October 19 while others already had beans and corn, and other plants, well above the ground.

During the agricultural months, which are, of course, the summer months, 221
hunting is relegated by most Cayuá to occasional week-end trips. On these 224
occasions the man may be absent for a day, or even only a half-day, roaming the woods and fields in search of game. At other times, except for an occasional morning or afternoon excursion, made perhaps when the weather is not right for work in the *kokwé*, he will not be able to find sufficient time for hunting. Moreover, a man will use some of the time not needed in agriculture in some other way, such as craft work, repairs about the house, and the like.
During the winter, there is more time for hunting, but then it is often bitterly [291]
cold for the light clothing the Cayuá wear.

The first fruits ceremony, marked by the "baptism" of new corn, usually 221
comes in late January or February, but the entire harvest, including other 224
crops, may well run from sometime before until sometime after the baptism.
This community-sanctioned harvest, however, cannot be considered the ter- [796]
mination of all agricultural activity for the year. The plants which the Cayuá
say "have no season," notably manioc and sweet potatoes, are not necessarily [244]
harvested in the usual sense. They may be left in the ground and merely dug up and used as needed. This activity in some cases continues practically throughout the year, depending only on when the crops were sown.

THE RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF AGRICULTURE, FISHING, AND HUNTING

While agriculture has benefited by acculturation in other ways, no large 177*
number of important new plants has been taken over. The crops aboriginally
most important remain so still, but a few new plants have been adopted which 24
are of some significance to the Cayuá. Among them are two types of sugar cane, widely grown as a delicacy and for addition (the juice) to *cãwĩ'*. Certain kinds of beans, rice—which is so far grown by only a few—and several garden crops have also been adopted, such as onions and garlic.

The present Cayuá allege that one of their two main varieties of corn 177*
comes from the whites (that called *aBatí tupí'*, the hard or flint type), although
this is not borne out by the botanical evidence.[126] Nevertheless, Cayuá usages 243

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[126] Cutler, 1946, p. 280.

*177 243 [173] are consistent to a certain degree with their contention. They say that the gods do not approve when large quantities of flint corn are planted and smaller quantities of the flour type, which is a divine gift. In spite of going this far, however, it is quite obvious that Cayuá now do sometimes plant more *tupi'* than *monoti'*, intending the greater harvest largely for sale. Cutler says, "The flour types appear to be the older form."[136] It is possible, therefore, that the Cayuá have grafted onto some aboriginal distinction between an older and supernaturally sanctioned flour corn (*monoti'*) and a more recent flint type (*tupi'*) the modern rationalization that the latter is white-introduced. The present trading association of hard corn may also have had some influence. In any event, it is clear that some few plants have been introduced to Cayuá agriculture by acculturation and that the aboriginal production ratios between one crop and another have been somewhat changed as a result of white influence.

*177 *178 224 226 Hunting and fishing have changed less than agriculture but a few acculturational features are to be noted. In fishing, white-introduced metal hooks are used for angling. Machetes are now often used when hunting with dogs; clubs have presumably given way to machetes in this and have disappeared altogether. Firearms are known, and a very few Cayuá possess them.[137] The bow and arrow is the missile weapon used by the largest number, and it does not seem to have suffered basically, either as to variety of arrow points or as to the knowledge of its use, from acculturational change.

*177 *178 222 412 415 Technologically, gathering has been largely unaffected and also probably has been little influenced by acculturational factors as to its importance in the total economy. In honey-gathering the machete and axe have provided some advantage over any conceivable aboriginal method. These metal implements are used to cut open the trees or stumps where the wild bees make their nests. Kerosene cans and *aguardente* (Brazilian alcoholic drink made of cane juice) bottles are now also found convenient for catching and storing the honey.

224 226 433 Although apparently little affected by acculturation as to technology, the non-agricultural forms of food production are now completely subsidiary. In some respects hunting and fishing theoretically may now even be dispensable. Practically every able-bodied Cayuá man (and woman, within the limits of her status) is an agriculturist. But many men do very little hunting or fishing. Even the motives for these lesser activities are now somewhat special and include the desire for variation of activity and for relief from the largely vege-

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[136] *Ibid.*

[411] [648] [137] In 1943 only one person at Taquapiri had a firearm usable for hunting, an ancient Belgian shotgun, for which he sometimes bought powder and shot and loaded his own shells. A story was current among the Cayuá at that time that "the Government" had issued an order for all firearms to be taken from the Indians. Apparently certain local whites had "cooperated" in this, taking the arms for themselves.

table (agricultural) diet. Agriculture takes so much time that hunting has become literally somewhat of a "weekend" activity for most Cayuá men.[138] 224 226 433

Most of the aboriginal game animals are still taken, and southern Mato Grosso can certainly still be described as quite "wild," but game is no longer to be had in such numbers as formerly. Cayuá fishing is even less practicable than hunting, though this is not entirely a recent development. We have already seen that fishing was for a long time somewhat less important among the Cayuá than among some of the better known Tupi-Guarani. Nevertheless, it appears that modern fishing has continued to decline in importance, even from its former limited role. Fishing with poison has been given up by the Cayuá of Taquapiri, although the tradition of this practice is still alive, and even younger men said they could identify the proper poisonous plant. During our stay only a handful of men (or families) went fishing, in contrast to a majority of men who went hunting at least several times.

Many Cayuá still regularly spend some time in hunting and fishing, although the number is not as large as that of *kokwé* owners. Nor is the amount of time spent in hunting and fishing, in the majority of cases, usually more than a small fraction of that spent in agriculture. There are only one or two men in the entire village who spend more time—or even as much—in hunting and fishing than in farming. Trapping and snaring, related both to hunting and agriculture, in the sense of keeping crop pests under control, are carried on today on the whole, probably, little diminished. It may be, however, that the more elaborate and time-consuming kinds of trapping, such as making deadfalls and pitfalls for large animals, have decreased. Trapping activities continue to provide occasional meat, nevertheless, and even the Cayuá who no longer hunts is likely to keep a few traps and snares.

In fine, there can be little doubt that agriculture is relatively more important in the economy of the modern Cayuá than it was at the time of their forefathers. This is evident in at least four ways: (1) the total amount of area under cultivation; (2) the amount of work time spent in agriculture, and consequently the greater care given the *kokwé* than aboriginally; (3) the amount of total goods now produced in agriculture, both directly and indirectly (through trade); and, (4) negatively, the inroads which have been made in the former importance of hunting and fishing, and possibly gathering. 178* 241 433

DIVISION OF LABOR

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The most notable feature about the present sex division of labor is the 462

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[138] The Cayuá at Taquapiri are conscious of the Christian week and calendar and have a tendency to arrange their activities according to such a schedule. For instance, drinking fests with their attendant dancing always tend to be on Saturday nights—except for the more limited spontaneous fests. Although the Cayuá are not by any means practicing Christians, we were surprised one day, finding the men at home and not in their fields, to be told that it was a "*dia santo.*" [177]* [805]

241 462 primary importance of men in agriculture. Besides clearing and burning, which they have probably always done, men now plant, tend, or harvest a majority of crops. The female role in agriculture, although not insignificant, is limited usually to certain plants and operations, such as, for example, planting corn.

The present male role in agriculture seems well established, in sentiment as well as operation. An example is the Cayuá belief about the sensitiveness of gourds; a woman must never so much as walk through a gourd patch because her very smell could spoil the gourds (make them turn out with warts or spots on them or having shapes such as to render them useless for bottles or rattles). Yet there are other associations in agriculture which are equally exclusive of men. Men do more of the over-all work from clearing to harvesting, but women may (in some cases, must) plant certain crops, tend certain of them, and harvest certain ones, though not necessarily all the operations for each crop. Some of these operations are not rigidly prescribed as to sex, though others are. The precise details are not in every case agreed upon; the latter becomes evident when comparing notes from different informants. But the main points, including the notion that in agriculture certain tasks are to be performed by women and others by men, are unmistakable. Differences of detail, moreover, seem to be largely confined to the less important and less common plants and operations. Men appear to consider that the *kokwé* is primarily and essentially their responsibility and that women are, so to speak, called in to attend to a special plant or operation which pertains to them. On the other hand, some widows maintain gardens of their own and may be "employed" to work in the fields of other men, if that is necessary to contribute to their self-support. The task of bringing home the products of the *kokwé* for *178 the daily meals is clearly a female one.

594 476 596 Joint vs. individual labor is considered at greater length under a later heading regarding the changed size and composition of the consumption-production group (see pp. 87–91). However, since the division of labor is also involved, joint and individual labor are mentioned briefly here. The main point is that more work is accomplished individually and less work jointly at present than was formerly the case, as far as the evidence goes. For one thing, production (and consumption) is now primarily carried on by elementary families. This means that usually a single adult male, assisted by his wife in those operations which pertain to females, produces almost the entirety of what is consumed by his own (elementary) family. Production (and consumption) was formerly to a much larger extent carried on by extended family households; this was particularly true of agricultural production. Now there are almost universally individual (elementary family) *kokwé* instead of a smaller number of extended family *kokwé*.

476 It is difficult to know how to relate the institution of the *puširão*, or joint work party, as it is and as it used to be, to the matter of individual vs. joint

work. We have practically no information about the importance of the *puširão* in the Cayuá past, but the widespread existence of the institution among Tupi-Guarani peoples certainly suggests that for the Cayuá, too, it was formerly, as now, a functioning arrangement for accomplishing certain types of work jointly. The *puširão* is a largely spontaneous affair. It is called the day before, or a few days in advance, by one individual or sometimes two—perhaps brothers, father and son, or cousins—who each have a certain piece of work they wish to have done jointly. A varying number of people may be asked to come on the specified day, according to the extent of the work to be done and the amount of *cãwɨ'* beer the host of the work party has to offer in return for help. The ones asked may not all necessarily come, but most people generally do. They also tend to be relatives and those closest to the giver of the work party. It should be mentioned, however, that in a village the size of Taquapiri nearly everybody is considered in some way related, so kinship, taken broadly, is hardly definitive of the composition of the *puširão*. Women may also give joint work parties for certain female tasks, such as corn planting, but do so less frequently than men, at least at the present time. 476 [462]

Puširão work is, of course, joint work. It seems possible, on a purely conjectural basis, that the modern *puširão* represents the survival from aboriginal times of some sort of reciprocal work obligations among the lineages or extended families of a village, or perhaps even between neighboring villages where there were mutual relatives. The present composition of the work parties would certainly not preclude such a possibility, but there is no unmistakable evidence of it. The joint and concurrent calling of *puširão* by close relatives, father and son, and so forth, suggests that aboriginally the extended family was basic to the institution. [596]

It is rather difficult to say whether more or less joint work is carried on now through recourse to the *puširão* than through whatever aboriginal arrangement corresponded to it. The writer suspects that the answer is less joint work now; there are at present a fair number of people at Taquapiri who never or almost never give a *puširão* and also those—though not always the same ones—who never or rarely participate in the *puširão* of others. Some individuals say they would like to be able to give a *puširão* but cannot because they lack the necessary corn or other alternative ingredients required to make *cãwɨ'* for the workers. In some cases the reason for this lack is that these individuals are "over-specialized" as peons and spend too much time away from the village working for their masters and too little attending to their own agricultural affairs. It may also be that the economy of the elementary family unit is less stable from year to year in production and matters respecting ability to give and participate in *puširão* than was the case with the larger extended family unit.

It is not clear whether any differences exist between the present and the

It is not clear
whether any differences exist between the present and the
*178 past with respect to individual vs. joint labor in hunting and fishing. Fishing
226 and hunting today are almost exclusively individual affairs, and at most a man
476 will take his wife and children along on an overnight fishing trip; but this may
also have been common practice formerly. In one respect alone does it appear
224 certain that some form of joint labor prevailed with regard to aboriginal fishing;
594 this is in the use of fish damming methods and fish poison, clearly activities requiring the cooperative labor of several individuals. The only kind of fishing referred to at Taquapiri in 1943, however, was angling, an individual occupation. The abandonment of former joint methods of fishing is presumably related somehow to the loss or weakening of other forms of joint labor. If joint fishing parties were aboriginally organized within extended families, which seems likely, a relation may well exist between the mutual decrease and abandonment of these social forms.

*177 A certain amount of specialization, which does not appear to have existed
*178 formerly, is now present in Cayuá economy. This takes at least two different
forms: craft specialization and work alternatives. Work alternatives are in the
463 sense of whether the individual works primarily for himself or for others. Craft specialization is the less important of the two as regards the amount and importance of goods thus produced. Work alternatives are mainly concerned with the changa[129] relations existing between a majority of Cayuá men and local Brazilian settlers. The settlers employ these men to work—usually in their planted clearings (*roças*), employment technologically almost identical to the agriculture Cayuá know at home.

[462] Individual craft specialization exists in both men's and women's crafts. It
seems to occur in those aboriginal industries, in most cases, which have suffered
a decline but whose products are still in some demand by the Cayuá, or some-
*178 times by Neo-Brazilians as well. An example of female craft specialization
286 today is the manufacture of hammocks, which are still widely used by the
439 Cayuá and which also find an occasional buyer among the whites. A number
of the younger women, although not all, are unable to make hammocks, or
438 for some reason do not "wish" to do so. Hence they must obtain hammocks
462 for their own use from a woman who can make them and who will do so for
463 barter or for a price—infrequently the latter. The weaving of men's belts is
another, although relatively unimportant, specialization among female crafts.
*178 Pottery making might also be termed in a sense a specialization, since only a
463 few women practice it; but here is a clearcut instance of an industry that is
[462] dying because there is practically no demand for its products. To what extent
the same may be true of other specialized industries, except that demand has
[323]

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[129] "*Changa*" is a Brazilian regional expression, apparently with a Rio Grande do Sul provenience. In southern Mato Grosso it is widely used by the Cayuá and seems to have the meaning merely of working for hire for another—in their case almost always a Neo-Brazilian. The verb is *changar* or *changuear*.

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not yet fallen off as much as in pottery, must remain for the future to say.[180] 463

Craft specialization among men includes the manufacture of strainer-
winnowing trays and of women's back baskets with tumplines, to cite only the 178*
more common and important ones. The making of strainer-winnowing trays 825
is not an industry which is dying, and its practitioners are not, therefore, 415
simply fewer and fewer. The need for this item of domestic equipment has 463
continued among the Cayuá themselves, and its use has developed among local 285
Neo-Brazilians, who do not manufacture their own trays. Specialization is
nevertheless present, for some Cayuá in 1943 indicated that they always ob- [462]
tained their winnowing trays from certain others who were quite good at [438]
making them.[181]

It cannot be flatly denied, of course, since documentary evidence is lacking, 178*
that craft specialization of the present sort existed formerly. But at least one 463
point seems to indicate the opposite: informants who were asked about
whether or not they were able to make certain things usually indicated that
they felt they *should* be able to make them, even in cases where they con-
fessed they were not.

The second and more important type of specialization, which we have 178*
called work alternatives, is the result of alternative activities which did not 464
exist aboriginally in Cayuá culture. The most important of these alternatives 465
is that of working in *changa* (wage-work) for settlers in return for desired white 476
goods such as cloth, salt, grease, meat, metal tools, and the like, or for money 648
pay with which such goods can be purchased at the *bolicho* or trading post.
Formerly a man worked for himself or his family—or worked jointly with
other Cayuá, with the expectation of reciprocity in kind. There was no wage
work or employment. Now, although practically all still work for themselves,
few do so exclusively; and a very few—perhaps no more than three or four
men at Taquapiri—are actually even deficient in their own home production,
because they spend so much (most Cayuá do not hesitate to say "too much")
time in working in *changa*. The few individuals who are thus behind in the work
of their own *kokwé* are naturally those who are also most in need of having a
puširão joint work party to help them catch up. But by the same token, these
men are often the very individuals who would be unable to give a *puširão*
(unless with the help of a relative) for lack of the necessary agricultural stores
with which to make *cã̌wĩ'* for the required drinking fest. Some men work a great
deal as peons, some only moderately, and a few not at all, and most informants
are well aware which individuals these are.

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[180] Conceivably perhaps, such a product as hammocks will continue in demand until long after the Cayuá are rather completely acculturated to their Neo-Brazilian surroundings and are de-tribalized. It might constitute an ethnic specialization.

[181] One of the most important uses of these utensils as strainers is in connection with *cã̌wĩ'* which is usually strained of all the larger lumps of corn or other substance which may occur in it as it is served. [252]

465 The goods with which the Cayuá is remunerated for his work for Brazilians
648 are usually white trade goods, or less commonly money, and it is for trade
goods that he actually works. There would be little sense, of course, in working
464 for things which he himself also produces in agriculture. The few individuals
511 who "specialize" in wage work as a result of this modern alternative, *changa*,
are usually long on white trade goods and short on the food crops produced in
the Cayuá *kokwé*. Such a man may have, in Cayuá terms, a good machete, a
hoe, and an axe, and good clothes on his own back and for his wife and children.
He perhaps even owns a pig (which, of course, he has no means of feeding
properly), or a horse, and probably has other things of value he has received
from his *patrão*. This same individual may also have the poorest *kokwé* in the
village and hence will have scant to eat oftentimes, although he is otherwise
[438] much better situated than his fellows. One cannot readily barter the white
trade goods for sufficient food, either with the Brazilians or with other Cayuá.
The "market" is not yet that flexible; the various goods are not freely convertible in terms of each other or of money. Moreover, *changa* is usually inefficient from this point of view, although few Cayuá seem to realize it. They
are often cheated by the Brazilians, or paid poorly for their work when no
[466] literal cheating takes place. They are commonly charged for their "board,"
that is, for the meager fare they receive from the *patrão* while staying on his
property for several days' work. Frequently much of what the *peão* earns he
is encouraged to consume in the form of cheap *aguardente*. This, of course,
*177 costs the Cayuá considerably more than it originally cost the settler.[129]

464 A sort of *changa* or working for hire is now occurring on a limited scale
among the Cayuá themselves. This new development suggests the manner in
465 which modern commercial modes of thought and behavior may invade a culture with a primitive economy, and shows how far this has taken place at Taquapiri. For example, one Cayuá merely agrees to pay another so much in cloth, or whatever it may be (usually white trade goods), in exchange for hoeing a certain area or planting so much manioc. A single informant was able to mention four or five different instances of this arrangement with which he was acquainted, and he knew the terms of two of them. Interestingly enough, the kinship of this "internal *changa*" to its Neo-Brazilian model is even borne out in the Cayuá allusion to the arrangement as "*changa*" and their joking references to the Indian employer as a "*patrão*." The scale of pay seems to be about the same as that prevailing outside the village with Neo-Brazilians, but one informant said that he would prefer to work for settlers because the pay was better.[130]

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[273] [129] The desire for alcohol seems to be an active factor in the excessive work in *changa* of at least one Cayuá at Taquapiri. Selling alcoholic beverages to Indians is said to be a Brazilian federal offense.

[130] One case of bad faith was observed in which the Cayuá "patrão" paid his worker in ad-

There is some tendency for the internal *changa* workers to be women rather 589
than men. They are often widows or divorced women who must support them- 462
selves, with partial assistance from a brother or a father. In the present situa- 464
tion, these women cannot work in *changa* for Brazilians. While some widows keep *kokwé* of their own or maintain a part of the *kokwé* of the relative with whom they live, such activity does not usually provide them with the trade goods, particularly cloth, that all Cayuá now need. Internal *changa* for fellow
villagers, in exchange for trade goods or cash, is one solution. Women are not [465]
exclusively involved in the internal *changa*, however, as one of the most consistent internal *changa* workers is Inácio, a man who also has probably the largest *kokwé* of his own in the whole village. Inácio never works for Neo-Brazilians, possibly because he can not speak Portuguese and would therefore be cheated or would be unable to deal with them to his interest.[134]

The possibility of hiring other Cayuá to work for him in the *kokwé* seems 177*
to be one of the best solutions for the man who spends too much time abroad
working for his *patrão*. It is a rather circular arrangement, of course, but one 184
more or less in keeping with increasing specialization. It would be a mistake, 464
nevertheless, to think that the internal *changa* is already a commonplace at 178*
Taquapiri. One main reason why the practice is still not resorted to on a larger scale among the Cayuá is that the need and the possibility for it are not yet very great. It is presumably also true, therefore, that the number of individuals desiring wage work of their fellows is not large either. At present, the internal *changa* serves as little more than an occasional convenience and probably is not a necessary recourse for any but a few individuals. Indeed, practically everyone is still his own farmer. But presumably the few cases of Cayuá wage employment typify acculturative changes which, now that they are introduced, will ultimately become effective on a larger scale.

Changa work for Brazilians is one of the most intensive channels for ac- 464
culturative change of attitudes that exists. In no other connection do the 648
Cayuá come into so frequent contact with the Neo-Brazilian, nor for such
periods of time, or under such relatively intimate circumstances. The Cayuá [177]
peão often leaves his village for several days or a week at a time, unless his [166]
patrão happens to be one of the few living within easy distance of Taquapiri.
During this work period he will usually stay on the property of his *patrão* in [466]
rough quarters provided for the purpose. He will be fed from the kitchen of the *patrão*, or will at least receive raw materials for cooking if he has brought his wife and family along with him. During the day he works in the field of the

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vance, and the worker never did the contracted work. This individual happened to be a man with very shallow roots in the village, and he left Taquapiri altogether before performing the work. [464]

[134] This same reason, that of not being able to speak Portuguese in order to deal with a *patrão*, is given in the case of another Cayuá who is reputed one of the best agricultural workers at Taquapiri.

464 Neo-Brazilian and oftentimes he may be accompanied in this or supervised by
648 the settler himself. Supervision is not usually necessary from the point of view
[465] of the Neo-Brazilian in order to get his money's worth, however, because pay
is almost always on a piece-work basis. The only known exceptions are unusual
[191] types of work for which no standard of pay exists. Without exception, the
Cayuá who speak the best Portuguese or Spanish (this is a border region) are
those who work in *changa*. Men almost exclusively are involved in this type of
*[177] acculturation, and the linguistic difference between men and women seems to
[562] give some measure of the acculturation differential between them. No Taquapiri woman speaks Portuguese; not all men do either, and few men speak the language well, but some do.

648 A limited sort of paternalism grows up in the case of some of the longer
464 standing relationships of *peão* and *patrão*, that is, in cases where the same *peão*
works consistently for the same Neo-Brazilian. It is usually to the interest of
466 the settler (though all do not agree) to find a good worker and to make that individual feel attached to him. Thus he can always count upon a *peão* when he needs work done. Sometimes this attachment is accomplished by the well-known "continued indebtedness" hold. In this the settler, at the end of a period of work, arranges to have the Cayuá still owing him something. Consequently the *peão* must return there to work the next time rather than find another *patrão* whom he might possibly prefer. Other times, however, a definite effort is made by the *patrão* to create the impression that he is looking after the peon's best interests, that he will take care of him as far as seeing that the Cayuá is kept in cloth and salt, has a machete, and similar paternalistic relations. A Cayuá who accedes to such a continued relationship is known, naturally, as an "*índio bom*," somewhat as in the South of the United States certain lower caste individuals are distinguished as "good" Negroes. Often the settler, or more likely his wife, will "baptise" the children of the *peão*, in other words, suggest Brazilian Christian names to give them. Between such individual Cayuá and settlers there is a limited and highly circumscribed intimacy, a friendship between unequals. Such friendship cannot exist between the average Cayuá and the average Brazilian who usually have very little or nothing to do with each other, though there may often be some mutual knowledge of names and the more obvious personal details. A third to a half or more of the Cayuá at Taquapiri who consistently work in *changa* have more or less fixed relations with particular *patrões*, though these may not run more than a few years in some cases. Some of the rest may work as much in *changa* but do not work as constantly for any one *patrão*. As the time of year approaches when they need cloth or other trade goods and feel that they can give a week or so from their own work, unattached *peões* are more likely to go out looking for *changa* with the first settler to offer a satisfactory arrangement. *Peões* with steady *patrões* are somewhat more subject to the plans of their particular employers.

TRADE WITH NEO-BRAZILIANS

Since there are no records, it is difficult to say exactly how long trade relations with whites have existed. Their beginnings certainly go back as far as the first white goods given to the Indians in exchange for food or for work in the *maté* groves; that may be 200 years ago. The volume of trade between Cayuá and Neo-Brazilian has probably not been important, however, until the last twenty years or so, and until even more recently the Cayuá have found no regular market for anything but their labor. 174* 439 648

At the present time there are two aspects of Cayuá-Brazilian trade relations: (a) the Cayuá receiving white goods and (b) the Cayuá trading small amounts of their produce to the whites. We shall consider these separately, though they are, of course, closely related. Some Cayuá now obtain store goods outright, paying in money or bartering for them. Many more work as peons for *patrões*, and the latter themselves obtain from the *boliches*, or trading posts, small stocks of trade goods of the type that find favor among the Cayuá. Indian demand for trade goods is at least of sufficient volume in most cases to lead the traders to stock special merchandise. The Cayuá either prefer this merchandise because of lower price, because of different tastes and lack of discrimination, or they become victims in having the merchandise palmed off on them. Examples of such special "*bugre*" (pejorative term for "Indian") merchandise are an inferior grade of cord tobacco which none of the settlers would use (because it was for Indian consumption, perhaps, if for no other reason), garish colored materials for clothing, tools of inferior quality, and outlandish men's felt hats.[illegible] But whatever the shoddy merchandise they are obliged to accept, and however much they may sometimes be cheated in their dealings with Neo-Brazilians, there is no mistaking that the acquisition of trade goods is now very important to the Cayuá. 177* 439 648 [436] [444]

There is a sizeable list of goods which the Cayuá obtain entirely from Neo-Brazilians, and these they seem to feel are either indispensable or at least are goods without which they could not conveniently get along. They include cloth, thread, needles, occasionally a pair of scissors (not every family has a pair), salt and rough cake sugar, soap (for washing clothes primarily, although native plants are known of which the saponaceous roots can be used), tools (principally agricultural), and iron pots and metal basins. Some meat and "lard" (usually tallow) are occasionally acquired, though trade in these items is not very regular—even less so away from Brazilian villages large enough to afford a butchery. The most frequent source of meat and lard is the *patrão*

[illegible] Among the Cayuá in 1943 there were none but machetes of Brazilian manufacture, very poor—little better than iron; implements no Brazilian would use if he could avoid it. The better grades of imported tools, Collins (American) and "*Jacaré*" (Birmingham) were not unknown among the white settlers. However, the apparent conclusion is that the Indians are in no position to obtain the best, even more so when the best is in short supply. [412]

*177 rather than the *bolicho*—for the little meat not obtained by Cayuá themselves
through hunting. Cheap felt hats are used by a number of grown men, probably
439 a majority, and women much appreciate colorful head cloths to use as ban-
648 danas. Such "luxury" or non-essential items as shoes, usually for men but oc-
[262] casionally for women, are acquired by those who are able to do so and are
principally brought forth for festive occasions such as night dances. (Other-
[29[illegible]] wise everybody goes barefoot nearly always.) By far the most indispensable of
trade goods are the metal cutting tools for agriculture, without which the
present economy of the Cayuá could little more be maintained than that of the
whites.

Turning to the Cayuá products which find a market with the whites of the
439 region, we note that at the present time some Cayuá normally sell or barter
648 small amounts of their *kokwé* production every year. Corn, principally the kind
known to the Brazilians as *milho duro*, "hard corn" (Cayuá: *aBatí tupí*), is
the item of largest sale. It is sometimes sold wholesale, relatively speaking,
and not merely in small quantities at a time. Beans occasionally enter into
Cayuá dealings with whites but not nearly so frequently as corn, nor usually
on such a scale. Manioc and sweet potatoes, probably partly because they are
not as easily stored in quantity, rarely are sold to whites except in small
amounts for immediate consumption. These latter products do not go to the
traders usually but to local settler families who live close by and who may be
temporarily short as a result of a poor harvest or bad planning in their own
roças. (Cayuá occasionally try to obtain similar products for the same reasons
[243] from local settlers.) A few Cayuá now plant rice, which is not a native plant.
Although there would not be sufficient rice for themselves, did they consume
*[177] much, the product is sometimes traded to the Neo-Brazilians. In connection
with corn, at least, a significant number of Cayuá men, perhaps roughly half
the total, occasionally (that is, not every year) plant with some intention of a
storeable, tradeable surplus destined to the *bolichos*. The quantity is not large
in most cases, however.

648 Besides agricultural products, only a few others enter occasionally into
Cayuá-Brazilian trade and barter. These are wild honey, infrequently a ham-
439 mock made of *caraguatá* cord, and woven split bamboo strainer-winnowers,
352 which are called in Portuguese *peneiras* ("strainers"). Wild honey is gathered
by the Indians primarily for their own use. In years of some surplus, or when a
415 *patrão* or other Brazilian particularly requests honey, the Indians may trade
small quantities of their take to local white settlers. Honey is locally considered
262 to have peculiarly potent salutary properties and is hence in demand by
Brazilians; it is also a great delicacy to the Indians. The hammocks, which are
standard household furniture for the Cayuá, are not normally considered es-
sential by local white settlers, but once in a while one may be in demand for
resting purposes—much as we use them in the summertime.[109] Hammocks are

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[109] Hammocks have a northern and equatorial rather than a southern distribution among the

not often made for sale, except upon specific order of some white. It is different 648
with winnowing trays or strainers. All Brasilian households in the neighbor-
hood, as well as those of the indigenes, pound their corn in wooden mortars 439
and require these trays to sift fine corn from the coarser which needs more 352
pounding. There is usually a well understood idea of price, according to the
size and workmanship of the tray. Some Cayuá men consequently make them 415
to be offered for sale or barter either directly to the settlers, or to the *bolichos* 262
which may keep a small stock of trays on hand. This is a fairly durable article,
however, so the extent of their use does not necessarily imply a large volume of
production. Specialization in the manufacture of strainers has already been
mentioned.

Considered as a whole, however, the trade of Cayuá products to white 439
settlers or to the *bolichos* is both a much smaller and less regular avenue of
commercial relations with the outside than the *changa*. The Cayuá is less sure 648
of having both saleable merchandise and buyers for it than he is of having a
demand for his labor. His labor is consumed in larger quantities, usually, than 433
his products and hence ultimately provides him a larger part of the trade goods
he requires. Furthermore, not every able-bodied Cayuá can make the winnow- 464
ing trays, nor can their wives all make hammocks, and some do not seem able [463]
or interested in producing any surplus of agricultural products for barter.
Cayuá production for barter or sale in most cases could best be described as
only haphazard or casual. All those who receive more income from trade in
Cayuá products than from *changa* are either non-peons or work very little in
changa.

Economic exchange of the Cayuá of Taquapiri, both outside the village and 437
internally, falls under the headings of "pure barter" and "money barter."[137]
Pure barter is the exchange of goods for goods without reference to a common 648
standard of value. Money barter, hence, is the exchange of goods for goods 435
(and presumably also services for goods) in which there is a single general and
uniform measure of value, money. In their dealings with the Neo-Brazilians in [465]
trade and *changa*, the Cayuá are now acquainted with an accepted money
value of many of the commodities as well as the services they exchange. A *mão*
of corn (sixty-four ears) is worth so much in money; to clear a *quarta* (roughly
a quarter of an *alqueire*, the latter an area of 24,200 square meters) of relatively clean second growth (*capoeira* in Portuguese) is worth so many *milréis*; a
winnowing tray of good manufacture and a given size is worth so much; and so

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native peoples of eastern South America, and this trait, along with a number of others, is one [171]
argument for the northern or equatorial provenience of the Guarani-speakers of the south of Brasil
and of Paraguay. In the north of Brasil, the hammock is in many places considered by Brasilians
as a regular piece of sleeping equipment, and cotton hammocks are manufactured commercially
for sale, especially in the states of Ceará and Rio Grande do Norte. Many hotels in the North are
equipped with permanent hooks in the walls so that the guest can sling his hammock instead of
using the bed, if he wishes.

[137] Gras, 1930.

648 437 435 forth. In each case, the "price" is what the Cayuá knows the settler will ordinarily pay for the goods or services in question. Rather seldom, however, are the services or goods paid for in actual money. In fact, the Cayuá has very little need for money; he almost always works for limited, specific goods for immediate needs, a certain amount of cloth (as much as he requires for himself or his family), a hoe, a kilo of salt, a bar of soap, or a number of these things at once. These are his needs for a given period, usually no more than a season or two at a time. He does not save money or keep trade goods far ahead of his need for them. But in a large number of dealings with the Neo-Brazilian, money is now the *measure* used to decide whether the Cayuá will be satisfied, for instance, with the number of meters of cloth the *patrão* is offering for doing the specified amount of *changa* under discussion. The work is worth so much money; the cloth is worth so much money. Are they nearly equivalent?

There is nowadays much discussion of prices among the Cayuá themselves, how much a certain *patrão* pays per unit area, and how much so-and-so sold his corn for, how much ordinary cloth is costing per meter, and other such prices. These prices must necessarily be discussed in terms of money (either Brazilian or Paraguayan), even though most Cayuá rarely obtain trade goods or sell their own goods for actual money. This price concept, related to a money standard, is largely a result of dealings with Neo-Brazilians, and the Cayuá application of the concept to goods and services, therefore, so far tends to be limited to negotiations on the outside. When Cayuá negotiations with Cayuá are for the same goods or services as occur in arrangements on the outside, the price concept may also, naturally, be applied. But when other goods or services are in question, which are not involved in outside dealings, it is less likely that the money standard will be applied among Cayuá, or it will be applied hesitatingly and with uncertainty on both sides. However, enough goods and services are now appraised in terms of money that other goods and services, not ordinarily thought of in this way, can also sometimes be priced and evaluated by comparison.

437 As Gras points out, the four types of exchange he distinguishes, gift economy, gift barter, pure barter, and money barter, are not mutually exclusive.[133] We need not, therefore, be surprised to learn that the exchange of goods among Cayuá does not always conform to the money barter type. Cayuá examples of all the above types of exchange of goods and services could probably be cited (but will not be here since they do not seem related to acculturation). Summing up, then, the type of exchange termed by Gras "money barter," which certainly did not exist aboriginally, now marks most of the economic relations of Cayuá with Brazilian settlers and also marks some of the exchange of goods and services among the Cayuá themselves.

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[133] *Ibid.*

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

THE PRESENT BASIC PRODUCTION AND CONSUMPTION UNIT OF SOCIETY

Today the basic production-consumption unit is the elementary family instead of the extended family. 178* Two closely related changes are (a) a shift in 182 house type (architecture), and (b) a shift in the dwelling pattern. 342 If there had been no change in the size of the primary producing and consuming unit, 594 changes in architecture and in dwelling patterns probably would have been 596 unnecessary and hence might not have occurred—or they might have been 361 impossible. It is equally likely that the producing and consuming unit could not have changed, or changed so much, without corresponding changes in house type and in dwelling pattern. The three aspects, therefore, seem to have followed closely and reinforced each other in their mutual effect. It will be necessary to consider these aspects separately, however, taking the question of production-consumption unit first.

The elementary family, as a rule, is composed of a pair of spouses and their offspring, 594 and this group is today primary and basic in production and consumption and as a dwelling unit.[180] This is the group that generally lives together in a separate dwelling, and the group which produces together according to the recognized division of labor by sex and age. What this group produces is destined for its own consumption; and, as a corollary, very little of what it consumes comes from any other source than its own production.

The *tapüi* type of "longhouse" admirably suited the aboriginal need of a 178* large dwelling for the extended family. 342 But today there is only one house in Taquapiri, except for the lone *tapüi*, which is large enough for any but the 594 merest skeleton of an extended family. This single exception is the only structure which appears to house an extended family—not even the *tapüi* does. 596 However, there are a few other cases of dwellings where occupants are not all members of a single elementary family, and these suggest former extended family usages. Non-members who live with certain elementary families are often widowed or divorced sisters or daughters of the male head of the household.

Each household has its own *kokwé* from which it obtains the largest amount 178* of its food. 592 This condition is like the aboriginal one except in the size of the household group; hence there are now more *kokwé*. 594 Both the man and his wife work in the *kokwé*, and are alone responsible for its care, except for joint work [476] parties which they may occasionally hold. In the latter case—in a small *puširão*, at least—the husband ordinarily accompanies the party of men who have come to help with the work, while the wife produces in advance of the affair the necessary *cãwĩ* for the group. Within the elementary family, fire-

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[180] Dwelling is technically a form of consumption, of course, the house being that which is "consumed."

594 wood is obtained, water is drawn, and food is produced, cooked, and consumed. Agriculture, fishing, hunting, gathering, and trading for goods used—all these activities are carried on by the elementary family. There is, of course,
602 mutual helpfulness among relatives, and such assistance is naturally more frequent among close relatives, but there can be no mistaking the present fundamental unit.

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342 The shift in house types to the present, smaller types of dwellings involves somewhat varying architectural patterns, but all of them are basically different from the *tapüi.*[140] Architecturally it is usually easy to distinguish the old from the new in Cayuá dwellings. The old-style *tapüi*, which is still to be seen today at Taquapiri and at other Cayuá villages, had no walls, or, more precisely, the wall and the roof were not distinct; the roof extended in one unbroken incline from its peak to the ground. The walls of modern houses are perpendicular to the ground. Significantly, the Cayuá call the distinct roofs of their modern type houses "*téšo*," which is apparently from the Spanish *techo* or "roof." This suggests that the aboriginal word did not distinguish between "roof" and "wall" and, therefore, that the architecture wherein the two are different is new.[141] The newer types of houses are not uniform in structural detail, but all have certain features in common which are sufficient to distinguish them from the *tapüi*. Besides having separate roofs and walls, the modern houses do not have thatch walls (their roofs, though, are of thatch) like the "walls" of the *tapüi*. Modern walls are usually made of 6" to 8"-bamboo trunks split many times about the perimeter and opened and flattened into a sort of board. This use of bamboo not only does not occur in the *tapüi* or any other aboriginal type of construction, as far as is known, but would not have been practicable before the advent of metal tools. The foregoing architectural features alone would be infallible in distinguishing the *tapüi* from modern Cayuá dwellings, but there is also the matter of size. Although size varies among the modern houses, as it did among aboriginal *tapüi*, the old *tapüi* were apparently much larger on the average than any modern type house seen or reported. The evident reason is that the *tapüi* were intended to hold more people—the extended family. The relation of the change in size of households to the change in size of houses thus seems close and obvious.

331 Technologically *tapüi* construction required the work of a fair number of men—possibly all the male members of an extended family. On the other hand, without metal tools to make the bamboo "boards," not even a sizeable

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[128] [140] It has been thought well to consider house types here, apart from the rest of material culture, because of their implications in the question of the production-consumption-dwelling unit of Cayuá society.

[141] If the supposed etymology of the modern Cayuá word is correct, it indicates the probable European provenience of certain non-aboriginal architectural ideas. Even so, however, this gives only the pattern from which the small houses were borrowed; the question of why remains.

number of workers could produce a modern type house in the amount of time 331
it would take them to build a much larger *tapŷi*. Given metal tools, however, the ordinary elementary family can make reasonable headway with the construction of a modern house, especially with the occasional assistance of relatives. (Assistance is sometimes almost indispensable, particularly in the long and repeated trips to the forest to bring building materials, such as thatch and bamboo trunks.) But a man and his wife, even assisted intermittently by close relatives, would move exceedingly slowly in erecting a *tapŷi*. In other words, building a *tapŷi* is a large-scale operation requiring a number of people, with or without metal tools, whereas the modern house requires only a small work group, granted the machete.[142] Thus the modern small house seems intimately related to the elementary family in the matter of production.

Cayuá dwelling patterns also reflect the present production-consumption 361
unit. At Taquapiri a considerable number of the houses are closely grouped at the same place. With transitory Cayuá occupation of agricultural land, many houses are necessarily situated at considerable remove from their *kokwé*, some up to as much as a mile or even more.[143] Moreover, it often happens that a man may have two fields under cultivation, and he may thus have an even greater distance to cover in walking from his house to his agricultural work.[144]

Elementary families (judging from Taquapiri, at least) tend almost uni- 361
formly to locate their houses close to those of their nearest relatives. Thus, the 594
elementary family houses are now largely grouped as to what would formerly 596
have been extended family affiliations. At Taquapiri this clustering of houses
has resulted in greater distance to go to get to the fields. Even in the case of a 241

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[142] The existing *tapŷi* at Taquapiri was built jointly by men from several related families, but [342]
families not all related to each other as components of an extended family. The lone *tapŷi* now [476]
has certain communal aspects, too, not characteristic of other houses.

[143] Judging from the Cayuá settlements that we observed—which were not by any means half of the total in Brazil—the location of houses in relation to fields at Taquapiri may not be typical. For there the largest number of houses is clustered fairly closely giving the settlement much the impression one thinks of in a village. Elsewhere—in the other three settlements of Cayuá visited—the present arrangement of houses, widely scattered in the forest and each usually located in the middle, or on the edge, of its respective *kokwé* was much more suggestive than Taquapiri of the probable aboriginal situation. Even at Taquapiri there are some individuals who have located their houses away from the village cluster and have put them next to or in their *kokwé*. This contributes to the impression that location apart, and not the "village" type, is the older arrangement. It is also possible that the break-up into elementary family units is not in other places so marked as at Taquapiri.

[144] Different kinds of soil are recognized as being favorable to different crops; also, it is be- [242]
lieved—probably with justification—that it takes a while for the ants and other plagues to "dis- [243]
cover" a *kokwé* newly cut from the forest. Once they "discover" a field, they multiply enough to [244]
hamper the growing of crops most susceptible to them. Thus, corn, for example, is almost always
a preferred first or second crop in a new *kokwé*. Manioc tends to attract ants very rapidly and
therefore has to be shifted frequently. The occupation of agricultural land varies with a number of
factors but probably averages around four or five years.

361 few individuals, whose houses are not located within the village cluster but
594 near their *kokwé*, there is still evidently some tendency to locate nearby close
596 relatives. These latter individuals, however, have achieved a more satisfactory
241 balance between the ideal of location near one's field, on the one hand, and
continuance of the traditional location with one's kin, on the other.

361 Some have not successfully resolved the implicit conflict between proximity
to *kokwé* and proximity to kin. For a few the distance to their *kokwé* is small
241 enough that it can be traversed, even daily, without much inconvenience. But
for others, the distance is so considerable that their round of work activity is
affected. There are cases in which individuals must spend from a half hour to
an hour merely in getting to their clearings from their houses. The hardship is
particularly felt during the season of more intensive agricultural activity. It
must also be kept in mind that not only the man but also the woman is concerned since she, too, works in the clearing and must frequently go there to bring
back the day's food rations.

241 The problem of extreme distance has been partly resolved by some Cayuá
by the use of small, house-like structures in their *kokwé*. In these shelters they
342 can stay overnight or for several days during the time when they must be most
343 constantly in their fields for work. Two families move completely to their
"summer homes" during the active agricultural season. Most field houses,
however, are not presently ordered to serve for more than occasional and
temporary quarters—for overnight or in case of sudden rain when there would
not be time to get back to the settlement.

More often than not, the field house is primarily a storehouse for nonperishable agricultural produce and farm gear, and it is not necessarily also
used as a field shelter. One might therefore judge that the use of the field house
as a shelter emerged after the development of the structure as a field storehouse. A number of Cayuá have field storehouses but have not adapted them
for dwelling purposes. Those which are adapted for shelter thus seem to repre-
*178 sent but special uses in the general development of storehouses for agricultural
produce.[18] The present cultural inconsistency on the point of location in
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[18] On the point of whether the so-called *paiol* (this is a Portuguese word) is aboriginal or modern, the writer cannot pronounce since this was overlooked in the field work. It is a practice of some local Neo-Brazilians to have such storehouses in their *roças*, although they might conceivably have obtained this idea from the aborigines, as they certainly have done in the case of many other agricultural traits. The *paióis* vary in construction, depending on their particular use (i.e. for stores only or also for shelter). Some are built above the ground on low piles. The writer's supposition is that the Cayuá field shelter-storehouse is recent because of the modern implications of (a) a considerable agricultural surplus to be stored, (b) inadequate storage in the modern dwelling house (probably not the case with the larger *tapŷi* and its storage shelves), and (c) the recency of the shelter requirement for such a field house. None of these points would seem to favor the argument of an aboriginal analogue of the *paiol*. However, if such were the case, it might still be argued that the aboriginal storehouse has nevertheless been affected by factors of acculturation, especially in its now occasional conversion for shelter.

proximity to kin or proximity to *kokwé* is evident in any case. The "summer 178*
house" helps to solve the difficulty to the extent that traditional location near 361
relatives can be largely continued, even while related elements of the dwelling pattern have changed.

A CHANGE IN THE KINSHIP SYSTEM RESPECTING AVUNCULAR MARRIAGE 178*

It has already been mentioned that the marriage preference between ma- 582
ternal uncle and niece (mother's brother-sister's daughter) probably at one 604
time existed in Cayuá culture. (Cf. *supra*, pp. 34–37.) Several arguments for this point were advanced. The surviving terminological provisions of the present Cayuá kinship system favor it; the avuncular arrangement would have coincided well with the aboriginal extended family organization; and there are so many basic and striking similarities of culture in general between the Cayuá and the coastal Tupi for whom the usage is reported. The modern absence of the avuncular form, therefore, may be presumed a result of acculturational change. (Such a union is now held to be repugnant.) We shall consider subsequently the significance of this change and the reasons to which it may be ascribed. (See pp. 118–122.)

A CHANGE OF ECONOMIC ATTITUDES

Cayuá economic attitudes have changed with respect to the evaluation of 178*
goods and services and, in the second place, the relation of the individual to 571
his fellows. We shall consider the latter change first. "Individualism" may 433
be defined as "behavior in which the individual strives toward his goal without
reference to others."[146] Economic sentiments of the Cayuá formerly were more 181
concerned with joint or familial interests and goals. A change in the direction of individualism is seen especially in the relative degree to which individual, as opposed to collective, work is performed today. Formerly, a certain group of individuals, related to each other as members of an extended family, worked cooperatively to produce many of the necessities of life common to them all. They cooperated to build their *tapüi*, to cultivate their (probably joint) *kokwé*, possibly to hunt, and probably to do certain kinds of fishing. Besides the common sustenance that they derived from this cooperative activity, and which was its primary purpose, they enjoyed the pleasure and solidarity such interaction brought. Cooperation gave assurance that if there was anything to eat, none would go hungry, even if his own luck happened temporarily to be short. In these activities, the extended family members worked for a common goal; this may be defined as the basis of cooperative behavior.[147]

Another type of aboriginal collective activity is the *puširõo*. This work may 178*
have involved the members of more than a single extended family, and such
inter-familial joint work parties probably helped bind together in interaction 476

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[146] Mead, 1937, p. 16. [147] *Ibid.*

*178 476 the various extended families that comprised a settlement.[148] The *puširão* afforded pleasure and the solidarity of assisting, as well as the assurance that when the participants in turn wanted help, it would be forthcoming. But

> The *muchirão* [*puširão*] is not properly aid, an act of salvation, or a mission of mercy; it is rather a gesture of friendship, an excuse for a let-up of one's labors, a very attractive form of cooperation [not "cooperation" in our definition here] in order to accomplish rapidly a piece of agricultural work.[149]

Today there is something less than universal agreement about the merits of the *puširão* and something less then total participation by all individuals in the village.[150] Some individuals say that *puširão* work is not good and that they prefer to do their own work; then at least they will have it well done, though it necessarily takes more time. Others say that the *puširão* "costs too much," referring primarily to the corn or other ingredients necessary to make the *cãwĩ'*, which is traditionally served to those who help. Today, also, it is partly the prestige derived by those who give big drinking fest-dances and provide
[574] their fellows large quantities of *cãwĩ'* that keeps the *puširão* alive. However, this is not to suggest that the *puširão* is a heavy burden in all respects. Some persons who have frequent recourse to the *puširão* for work manage very well economically, have large *kokwé*, and are not handicapped in doing their outside
[527] *changa* work for Brazilian *patrões*. Some can afford to be the hosts at large, all-village dances and drinking fests on Saturday nights, and in this activity they vie with each other to serve more *cãwĩ'* to their fellow villagers than ever before.[151] Nor is the large-scale *puširão* the only type; small work parties without village-wide drinking fests are very frequent. In other words, in the purely economic sense, the *puširão* apparently works well for some individuals, while for others it works only moderately well. Still others never give *puširão*.

Following Mead's distinction, participation in the *puširão*, while certainly collective, is not cooperation but rather only helpfulness. The distinction is

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[171] [148] Possibly this function is somehow reminiscent of the "*grupos de trabalho*" (work groups) which Baldus (1937, pp. 86–112) has recognized among the Tapirapé.

[19] [149] Ayrosa, quoted in Baldus and Willems, 1939, p. 157. The varying orthography of the word *puširão-muchirão* is probably to be explained on the basis of the Tupi-Guarani consonant "mb" of many dialects. Also, of course, this word itself varied in other respects from one dialect to another.

[150] It is true, of course, that the *puširão* may also previously have had some of the character of the optional; the facts are unknown. Perhaps the difference on this point, if any, between the past and the present is one of degree and not of kind.

[273] [433] [151] Hence, perhaps the enormous wooden trough for *cãwĩ'*, mentioned supra, p. 30. There is probably some relation of this vieing to give large drinking fests and the increased agricultural surplus that has become more and more evident with the expansion of agriculture since aboriginal times. The manufacture of *cãwĩ'* is, after all, based largely upon agriculture, since *kokwé* crops are the ingredients now used—corn, potatoes, manioc, in that order of importance. An agricultural increase might thus favorably affect the consumption of *cãwĩ'*.

that the goal is not the same for all members of the work party.[128] The contemporary 178*
puširão is no more cooperative, in our present sense, then, than the
aboriginal one. Nor is there any regular work cooperation today on the basis 476
of an extended family. Indeed, the *puširão* largely serves now and is almost
the only expression of obligations of relatives and others to assist each other in
their regular work. But such collective work of kinsmen does not mean cooperation
toward a mutual goal, such as a joint food supply; it means only helping
some individual with his own, respective, private work. Thus the existence of
the present *puširão* is no counterbalance for the loss of extended family cooperation
and the increase of elementary family individualism.

Commercialism can be stated as economic rationalism, a tendency to appraise 178*
factors of economic importance more in terms of conscious, measurable,
tangible economic goods or appreciable economic advantage, and to appraise 433
them less in terms of non-economic values. Present Cayuá tendencies toward 648
commercialism can be seen in their economic relations with Neo-Brazilians,
in trade, and in the *changa*. Here rather undiluted economic self-interest tends
to prevail and the arbitrary concept of money value is being applied to more
and more goods and services. These facts contrast with the aboriginal absence
of a price concept and the tendency to evaluate goods and services in other
terms than self interest. Commercialistic attitudes exist among the present
Cayuá to the extent to which they weigh cost against gain and rationally
assess in directly economic terms the advantage of different possible courses of
action. The joint economic production of the extended family of old and the
collective working arrangements of the *puširão* are in some sense the opposite
of commercialism. Each individual's contribution to this enterprise was not
weighed and balanced in economic terms against the gain he privately derived
from it. The reigning principle was one of kinship or friendship obligations; the
satisfaction derived was measured by no standard economic unit of value.
(This also applies in part to the present *puširão*, of course.) Against the old
values modern Cayuá arrangements in trading and wage work for whites stand
out sharply. Commercialistic attitudes and dispositions to act have, moreover,
penetrated farther than Cayuá dealings with whites. Two developments within
Cayuá society, already mentioned, are evidence of the extent to which this has
occurred. These are the development of pure and money barter among Cayuá
within their own village and the internal *changa*. Internal trade is now taking 178*
place on a small but significant scale. "Significant" here has to be understood
against the background of a very low degree of economic specialization in which 438
there is relatively little cause for trade in the same village between one Cayuá 464
and another. Commodities such as rice (which only a few Cayuá now plant),
as well as chickens (which a larger number possess), are now traded, and trans-

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[128] Mead, 1937, pp. 16–17.

*178 actions take place even in the more traditional products of the Cayuá. These
438 products may now and then be in short supply for some families, perhaps
toward the end of the season, just before planting and the coming of the new
464 crop. There is little doubt that both "internal" *changa* and intra-village trade
are extensions of practices which the Cayuá have come to know primarily from
[648] their economic relations with whites. Relations with Neo-Brazilians have been
and are today strong forces in favor of the growth of economic rationalism or
commercialism.

*178 Theoretically there may be no necessary relation between "individualism"
and "commercialism." In the case of the Cayuá, however, it is justifiable to
433 treat them together. Many of the same factors which historically reinforced
Cayuá commercialism also favored Cayuá individualism. The two attitudes
have had somewhat complementary roles, and the growing commercialism of
Cayuá economic outlook apparently closely paralleled a growing self-interest
in relations among members of the society. (A growing individualism, however,
might theoretically have developed without a necessary growth of commercial-
[594] ism.) First is the basic production-consumption unit now made up of only the
individual Cayuá male, his spouse, and his unmarried children—the ele-
mentary family. The separate economic role of the elementary family could
only come into being at the expense of certain former cooperative or collective
[476] sentiments and usages. There has been an increase in the attitude of primary
self-interest, a partial divorce of purely economic considerations from aspects
of helpfulness, jointness, and reciprocity, such as in the joint work party, and
a decrease in cooperative activity, such as expressed in the former extended
family. It is coming to be considered not only canny but proper for a Cayuá
to sell to his fellows goods or services they may need, that is, to discuss with
them in advance the terms of the exchange. Jointness or communalism of feel-
ing, as cultural values, are thus lessened in favor of commercialism and indi-
[736] vidualism. A Cayuá may now sometimes offer a friend so much in return for a
specified amount of work, and a man may make this sort of offer even to a
widowed sister who lives with him. Former attitudes toward cooperation and
helpfulness along kin (and hence non-rational) lines have therefore diminished
in deference to an appreciation of the objective economic expression (com-
mercialism) of purely individual interests. New economic attitudes and usages,
especially trade and wage work, coupled with a reduction of the size of the
basic production-consumption unit to the monogamous elementary family, are
the Cayuá ingredients of commercialism and individualism alike.

Increasing competition among the Cayuá is not necessarily implied in the present argument—that is, the goal of exceeding one's fellows for the pleasure this in itself may bring. A decrease in cooperation and the growth of individualism and commercialism, to be sure, are not antithetical to competition. But, at the same time, commercialism and individualism are not tantamount to the development of increasingly competitive goals. A diachronic investigation of the question of competition in Cayuá acculturation would demand much more information than we have concerning the past, or more inferences than we have any right to make. The impression is that competition in Cayuá culture is little more marked as a goal now than aboriginally.[183] In any case, Cayuá culture is not notably competitive at the present time, in the opinion of the writer, although cooperation has lessened and individualism increased, both as means and as goal, and although commercialism has introduced the means and the practice of objectively measuring individual economic advantage. 178* 433

A CHANGE IN THE POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

The modern Cayuá have gradually shifted from aboriginal household chiefs to a single, secular officer, the *capitão*, and his adjutant, the *sargento*. The terms *capitão* and *sargento*, are today in current usage in all the Cayuá villages of which the writer has any report, and the offices do not seem very new. At least in those villages within easy range of SPI posts, the *capitão*, and usually the *sargento* as well, are not necessarily persons indicated by kinship or seniority, or selected by their own people for these offices. Rather they are individuals who are judged suitable by the *encarregado* who has jurisdiction over the village. Often the *encarregado* will attempt to name men preferred by, or at least acceptable to, the largest number of Indians, but this does not always follow. Occasionally a man is selected merely because he will do the bidding of the *encarregado*—or of the local settlers, in the case of a village too far away from the post to be immediately answerable to the *encarregado*. (It is even more certain, conversely, that the *encarregado* will reject any individual he suspects of hostility.) The present mode of selection often provides a man who finds no favor in the eyes of the majority of the people. One such fellow was *capitão* when we first arrived at Taquapiri and continued in office for a short time afterwards. He was a ruffian, said to have murdered a former wife of his (for witchcraft), and was not a native of Taquapiri, nor was his present wife even a Cayuá but a "Guarani." His tenure dissolved in a drunken fracas in which bruises and cuts were sustained by himself and members of both principal factions, the incumbent's and that of most of the rest of the village.[184] 177* 178* 624

With the dissolution of the extended family, much of the opportunity of the former household chiefs directly to exercise power withered away. The

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[183] A theoretical case might even be argued for the contrary, that competition as a goal is *less* now than aboriginally. It could be pointed out, e. g., that warfare, which was probably quite important, no longer exists, and this activity may well have been a somewhat competitive one. [721]

[184] The neighboring settlers were much concerned about the demission of this *capitão* from office since he had "cooperated" well with them, principally in the matter of obtaining Indian peons for *changa* when they were desired. [648]

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position of *capitão* remained the single definite office of the village as a whole and a point from which power could be directed. But there is also still a tendency for an older man from each of the various kin nuclei to act as informal leader of such a group of relatives. Some of the kin groups now take on the appearance of factions within the village, and under the present system all but one faction must at any given time be officially "out of office." Wagley and Galvão have noted certain aspects of this arrangement among the Cayuá and have compared it to that of the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara (Guajajara), and Tupi-Guarani groups farther to the north in Brazil:

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> This kinship system is correlated among the Cayuá, the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara with basically similar forms of social organization. All three tribes have now or had extended families headed up by an older man who attracts a group of young men into his group through matrilocal residence. Among the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara, an older man of some prestige gathers an extended family group about him by manipulation of the kinship system and by adoption of as many "daughters" as possible.[114]

The present "factions," which are largely the residuum of the aboriginal extended family system, are influential in proportion to their numbers and the prestige of their members and leaders. Their influence also depends, of course, on the extent to which the faction group accepts the assumption of leadership by the faction leader, and this is probably something less than in the past, when the then extended families lived under a single roof. Moreover, some adherents of present factions may have partially departed from the aboriginal principle of extended family kinship in forming their allegiances. Residence apparently determined allegiance aboriginally; that principle seems to have curbed any ambiguities of kin affiliation. But these ambiguities are greater now, without so strong a residence principle, and they may even permit individuals to affiliate somewhat as the spirit moves them. There are persons, for example, who come from outside the village and whose residence may be to a certain extent indeterminate at present. The ultimate adherence of these individuals to one faction or another, nevertheless, swells its numbers.

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While it is not known whether any particular number of factions is typical of Cayuá villages, there were at Taquapiri in 1943 only two main factions that were politically active and hence in the foreground. There were about five or six other small kin nuclei whose political affiliation did not seem to be permanently committed. Most of these other nuclei took no prominent part in political maneuvers during our stay, but it is likely that their passive support, at least, was usually counted on by one or the other of the more active groupings.

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[114] Wagley and Galvão, 1946, p. 22. The present writer disagrees with these authorities as to the rigidity and permanency implied for matrilocal residence, as far as the Cayuá are concerned.

V. ANALYSIS

IN this chapter consideration of Cayuá acculturation is directed to the analysis of three principal questions: 128

1. What changes have occurred in the culture of the modern Cayuá, insofar as the sources of such changes are acculturational? 177* 182
2. What are the specific acculturational sources of these various changes?
3. How are the various acculturational causes related to their respective results; or what is the configuration or structure of Cayuá acculturation? Is there in all respects a uniform trend, or does one result of acculturation sometimes conflict with another?

In Chapter IV, Cayuá Culture: The Present, the various changes, the concern of the first question above, are considered in comparison with Cayuá Culture in the Past. (See Chapter II.) Since the comparison also provides some description of the modern cultural setting of these innovations, it will only be necessary here to present a summary list of acculturational changes, without the previous detail of context, in order to see them in aggregate. A list of acculturational changes in Cayuá culture has been organized into a chart, pp. 96–97, the items under II. A. and II. B., "Effects of Acculturation."

Many of the changes listed represent only differences of degree, compared to the past; a few are differences of kind. Differences of degree are usually indicated by words such as "more," "greater," or "less," "diminished," and so forth, as the case may be. These acculturational changes form no strict chronological group except, of course, that they are all post-European contact.

The reason for subdividing acculturational changes, that is, the distinction between primary and secondary acculturational effects, will concern us presently.

The second question we are to consider in this chapter (What are the acculturational sources of these changes?) calls for a summary of the points of impingement and influence of European culture upon Cayuá culture. (Strictly speaking, of course, "European culture" means the several temporo-spatial variants which enter into the case.) These influences are discussed in their historical (temporo-spatial) context in Chapter III, so it will here be necessary only to list the acculturational sources already elaborated, as we have done above with the acculturational changes. Such a list may be seen by referring again to the chart, pp. 96–97, under the heading of I. "Causes of Acculturation."

While the points of European cultural impingement and influence are naturally related to the character of European culture itself, they are not all strictly *traits* of European culture. In fact, many of the points of European impingement upon the Cayuá are not in the least features of European culture *per se;* rather, they are conditions peculiar to the particular context of Euro-

128 pean culture we happen to be dealing with, that is, European culture *vis-à-vis*
*177 Cayuá culture. In this sense, it was not a trait of European culture, for exam-
182 ple, to guarantee the Cayuá freedom from hostile attack. However, the character of European culture was such that, when Europeans had settled in sufficient numbers about the Cayuá, something in the nature of an SPI was organized which would guarantee and impose order, in the European sense, in the situation. Had Cayuá culture been other than it was, the particular accultural causes effective in change might theoretically have been as different as if European culture itself had been something else. Both cultures, European and Cayuá, were necessary to the definition and determination of the accultural causes which can now be recognized as operative in the Cayuá instance. Thus, some of the acculturational factors recognized can little more be said to be traits of European culture than they can properly be called traits of Cayuá culture. So far in this chapter we have dealt with two broad classes (lists) of factors. These are characterized as (1) "Causes of Acculturation" and (2) "Effects of Acculturation." But "Effects of Acculturation" are further broken into two subclasses, (A) "Primary or Immediate Effects of Acculturation" and (B) "Secondary or Derived Effects of Acculturation." The basis for the distinction, which will concern us throughout this chapter, is that secondary effects are the longer range or "derived" acculturational changes; primary effects are the "immediate" changes. It will be our task now to examine these factors in their structural or configurational contexts.

How are the various acculturational causes related to their respective results; what is the structure or configuration of Cayuá acculturation? For purposes of clarity and brevity, we may refer again to the chart (pp. 96–97). The three aforementioned lists or classes of factors are given in separate columns, showing diagrammatically, in the simplest possible manner, the principal causal relations among the factors. This chart will be made the basis of subsequent discussion of the relations of factors, and occasional reference to it may save some time. Some of the connections represented are fairly obvious, but others are probably less immediately apparent or may even be controvertible. Lines indicate factors which stand respectively in cause and effect relation to each other, left-to-right direction showing which is the effect and which is the cause (Note: dotted and solid lines are equivalent; dotted lines are employed only to make the chart easier to read.)

The chart is concerned primarily with a *configurational* analysis of the factors of Cayuá acculturation—not with a temporal one. At the same time, of course, it is obvious that "effects" must stand in a particular temporal relationship to their respective "causes" since a singular cause necessarily precedes its effect. However, this point will not carry us far as to specifying time relations. In a large number of instances several causes, coming into being at different times, are recognized as contributing to a given effect. Furthermore,

not all of the several contributory causal factors necessarily become operative 128
in the situation before any realization of the effect; some factors merely reinforce an effect already observable. 177*
Let us take as an example of our analysis (II. A. a.) "Agriculture becomes more important in the total economy of the 182
Cayuá." At least six different causal factors are indicated on the chart as playing a part in this effect. One factor is (I. b.) the introduction of metal implements which serve to make modern agriculture more efficient and practicable on a larger scale than aboriginally. This particular factor is one which occurred relatively early in Cayuá acculturation since the Cayuá probably had acquired a slight knowledge of metal implements even before they knew much of the white man at close hand. Hence, as far as acculturation is concerned, this is an "old" factor making for agricultural expansion. Another factor which played a part in the present importance of agriculture is (I. g.) the "Development of an external market for small quantities of certain Cayuá products, principally agricultural products . . ." On a limited scale the Cayuá are now able to produce agriculturally for exchange with whites in return for white trade goods. But such trade is quite recent; it is much more recent, certainly, than the introduction of metal implements. Moreover, Cayuá agriculture necessarily had expanded much beyond its aboriginal scale before any regular exchange of agricultural produce with whites was feasible. Here, then, is a "new" factor in Cayuá agricultural expansion.

One point this illustration makes is that a trend in the direction of a given acculturational effect may already be initiated before all the ultimate contributory factors become operative. Causal factors, therefore, are not inevitably "causal" in the sense of *initiating* their related effects. Some causes are actually secondary in time and are effective mainly in consolidating or increasing effects already in process through other causes. Metal tools might be one of a number of initiating factors before which no expansion of agriculture was likely. But the possibility of exchanging an agricultural surplus with whites was not in any sense necessary to agriculture nor has it, *per se*, initiated the larger scale of Cayuá production; it has, however, favored an increase which was already present or in process, possibly contributing to expanded plantings.

As we have said above, our analysis is more concerned with the configurational aspects or interrelatedness of factors of cause and effect and less with questions of temporal sequence. There are other comparable points of general implication regarding the method of analysis represented by the foregoing chart. These can be better appreciated after a discussion of the actual relations between factors which the chart summarizes.

The factors will be considered by classes. First we shall take up, each one separately, the (II. A.) primary or immediate effects of acculturation, and, thereafter (II. B.), the secondary or derived effects. It is scarcely necessary or possible to consider separately the causes of Cayuá acculturation since these

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 98]

CONFIGURATIONAL ANAL

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I. CAUSES OF ACCULTURATION

a. Cayuá practically guaranteed protection from hostile attack by whites or other Indian tribes; are effectively prevented from participating in attacks themselves.

b. Metal implements introduced by whites, especially machete, axe, and hoe.

c. Cayuá gradually restricted as to territory, by retreat from whites, by encroaching settlers, and finally by SPI settlement of them upon designated reservation.

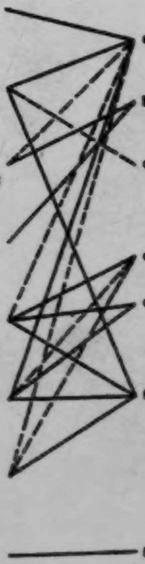
d. Game supply of animals formerly used by Cayuá for food gradually reduced because of coming of whites with firearms and their domestic animals.

e. Introduction of trade goods, cloth, salt, soap, tools, pots, lard, mate, meat, hats, and "luxury" and non-essential items.

f. Growth of an external (white) market for varying amounts of Cayuá male labor, with some desire to make such labor obligatory for Cayuá.

g. Development of external market for small quantities of some kinds of Cayuá products, principally agricultural products, but also certain craft items.

h. White political usages which tend to centralize authority in single individual for whole community.



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  2) selling--small amou
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CONFIGURATIONAL ANALYSIS OF CAYUA ACCULTURATION

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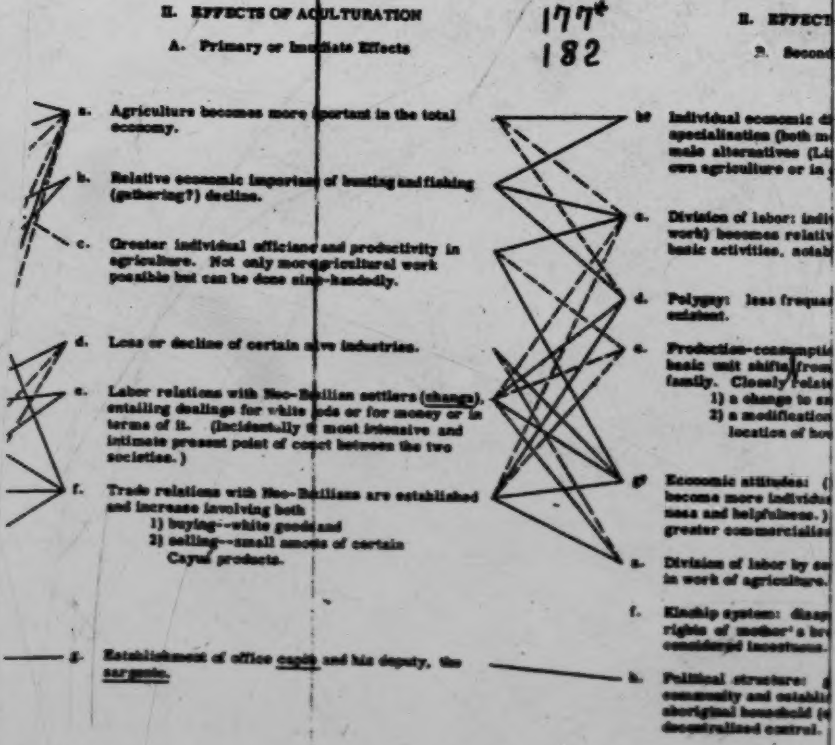

II. EFFECTS OF ACCULTURATION

A. Primary or Immediate Effects

a. Agriculture becomes more important in the total economy.

b. Relative economic importance of hunting and fishing (gathering?) decline.

c. Greater individual efficiency and productivity in agriculture. Not only more agricultural work possible but can be done single-handedly.

d. Loss or decline of certain native industries.

e. Labor relations with Neo-Brazilian settlers (change), entailing dealings for white goods or for money or in terms of it. (Incidentally the most intensive and intimate present point of contact between the two societies.)

f. Trade relations with Neo-Brazilians are established and increase involving both
  1) buying--white goods and
  2) selling--small amounts of certain Cayua products.

g. Establishment of office capitão and his deputy, the sargento.

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h. Political structure:
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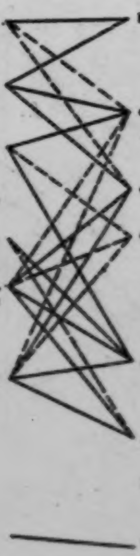

II. EFFECTS OF ACCULTURATION

B. Secondary or Derived Effects

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b* Individual economic differentiation: (1) increasing craft specialization (both men and women); (2) tendency toward male alternatives (Linton's sense) re extent of work in own agriculture or in changa for Neo-Brazilians.

c. Division of labor: individual work (vs. joint and cooperative work) becomes relatively more important in a number of basic activities, notably agriculture and house-building.

d. Polygyny: less frequent than aboriginally, almost non-existent.

2
A

e. Production-consumption group: size and composition of basic unit shifts from extended family to elementary family. Closely related are
  1) a change to small house types
  2) a modification of dwelling patterns re location of house near lote.

g* Economic attitudes: (1) relations of individual and group become more individualistic. (Formerly more cooperativeness and helpfulness.) Associated with foregoing is (2) greater commercialism or economic rationalism.

a. Division of labor by sex: men come to be more important in work of agriculture.

3
A

f. Kinship system: disappearance of presumptive marital rights of mother's brother to sister's daughter. Now considered incestuous.

h. Political structure: greater centralization of power in community and establishment of factions; replacement of aboriginal household (extended family) heads and former decentralized control.

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* "b" and "g" have been placed out of alphabetical order because of the complication otherwise of transecting lines.

*** [see errata, cat. 116, p. 132. -Analyst]

[P. 97]

128 causes are largely to be recognized in the effects to which they are related and
*177 which are their expression and will thus become clear in the discussion of their respective acculturational effects. Other than convenience or chance, there is
182 no special reason for the order in which the various factors have been listed in each class. (We shall include in parentheses, each time we first mention any factor, the numeral-letter key to its location in the chart.)

PRIMARY EFFECTS OF ACCULTURATION

*177 II. A. a. "Agriculture becomes more important in the total economy of the
182 Cayuá." Several factors have contributed to this effect, and the relationship is quite plain in most cases between these factors and the trend toward a larger
241 scale agriculture. The guarantee of freedom from attack and from the need of recourse to arms (I. a.) permitted the Cayuá to devote more time to other pursuits and particularly to depend more heavily upon agriculture. A fixed source of food, of course, is a liability when retreat and destruction are in prospect. The modern Cayuá could develop and maintain their *kokwe* on a scale which would have been impossible under the necessity of being ready to abandon them hurriedly. No longer did they have to conceal them by making clearings small and inconspicuous in the forest so as to escape hostile notice.

[412] A different influence, but with much the same result, is (I. b.) the introduction of metal implements such as the machete, hoe, and axe which facilitated agriculture technologically. These implements enabled the same amount of work as before to be done better in less time—and probably with a smaller expenditure of total effort. Thus, so to speak, there was, in comparison with the past, a "surplus" of time to be used in other activities or in more extensive
[224] agriculture. Since the most important other activities of men, hunting and
[226] fishing, were concurrently becoming less practicable, or at any rate demanding less time (as we shall see in II. A. b. below), there would obviously be a tendency to turn to the increased agricultural production of food. The heightened efficiency of the agricultural technology in turn made such a prospect less arduous.

*177 The territorial restriction of the Cayuá and their final location upon rela-
182 tively small reservations (I. c.), of course, favored agriculture; it became necessary to curtail economic activities, such as hunting and fishing, that de-
241 pended upon greater mobility and a wider territory of exploitation. Agriculture
621 remained practically the only possible direction in which Cayuá could compensate for their consequent economic losses. In a sense, then, we see here the reverse of the presumably usual relation between sedentarism and intensive agriculture. Generally sedentarism comes about "naturally," one supposes, but in the Cayuá case it was increased and enforced politically from outside. Thus, instead of resulting from intensive agriculture, the fixation of territory tended rather to bring that intensification about.

A consolidating factor, (I. g.) the development of an external market for 177*
small quantities of agricultural produce, is probably the most recent step to 182
date in the increasing scale of agriculture. Even without trade, agriculture 241
would likely have come to be practiced on nearly as large a scale as at the [439]
present time. Being able to trade small amounts of their corn and beans, and
a few other crops, to the whites for white goods has merely further established
the feasibility of agriculture as an adjustment to the new conditions the Cayuá
face. Certain aspects of their culture other than farming may conceivably
diminish through the gradual inculcation of Neo-Brazilian values in coming
generations of Cayuá. Agriculture, however, at least as long as the present
situation prevails, will be favored and enhanced by the very factors of acculturation.

Three other factors have aided the growth of Cayuá agriculture to a lesser
degree, or indirectly. The decrease in game animals in the Cayuá region (I. d.) [224]
has had the effect of making agriculture as a source of daily bread somewhat
more important through the consequent decline of hunting. The introduction
of trade goods and of trading posts (I. c.) has tended further to establish the
importance of agriculture. The Cayuá now know and desire trade goods, and [439]
one means of satisfying the desire is through trading agricultural produce for
these goods. The development of an external market for Cayuá (male) labor,
(I. g.), has perhaps also had some effect in solidifying Cayuá agriculture
(though in some respects it has competed with agriculture). The type of work [464]
for which Neo-Brazilians employ Cayuá men in changa is usually agricultural. [648]
Moreover, it is specifically the same type of agriculture as that practiced by
the Cayuá themselves. As far as operations, at least, are concerned, wage-work
provides little or no alternative or change from own production and may have
the reinforcing effect suggested.

II. A. b. "Hunting and gathering activities decrease in importance in the 177*
total economy." One acculturational cause of the decline of hunting and
gathering activities has been (I. c.), the gradual and increasing territorial restriction 182
of the Cayuá and their ultimate settlement on small reservations.
Possibly this restriction was not drastic for settlement, as the Cayuá aboriginally 22
were somewhat sedentary and built fairly substantial shelters that must 441
have tended to confine their range. But nowadays, with legally defined possession [621]
of lands, it is not so easy as formerly to traverse the countryside for hunting
and gathering without trespassing on the property of white settlers who
object. The Cayuá reservations, furthermore—or at least those of some
groups—are not near principal watercourses where there is access to canoe [657]
travel. Hence the people can no longer participate in such hunting and fishing [501]
activity as former mobility with the canoe presumably permitted.

The second main cause of decrease in hunting and fishing is (I. d.), the reduction of the aboriginal supply of game animals. This has occurred because of

*177 182 648 22 the presence of many more people in the region, principally whites, who have more efficient hunting techniques. The whites also graze considerable numbers of cattle. Inevitably the ecological balance has shifted to the disfavor of the wild animals. Hunting has become less possible because there is less to hunt. Precisely what the presence of domesticated grazing animals in large numbers may have meant to the prospects of plant gathering, on the other hand, is not quite certain. In a region like the intermontane area of North America gathering, rather than hunting, was of primary importance, and the wild plants gathered were such as to be accessible and edible to grazing animals. The outcome of the introduction of livestock in that instance was both predictable and serious for the aborigines. But many of the wild plants gathered by the Cayuá are tree-growing fruits; many lower growing varieties are plants of the forest where cattle are not so apt to graze. It may consequently be doubted that cattle have had a great deal to do with any decrease in plant gathering activities of the Cayuá.[illegible]

*177 182 241 22 Broadly and indirectly significant in the declining importance of hunting and fishing (and gathering?) has been the increase in scale of agriculture, (II. A. a.). These two large changes apparently stand in a fairly close inverse relationship to each other. As hunting and fishing decreased, agriculture increased, and to a certain extent one result can therefore be said to have been a cause of the other, though of course we are dealing here with no "closed" causal system. Had there been no feasible alternative to the dependence upon hunting and fishing, such as agriculture, it may be doubted that they would as readily have given way before acculturational forces operating against them—or the present economic situation of the Cayuá might not have been such a relatively well adjusted one. In this sense, then, factors ultimately favorable to agriculture have indirectly contributed to the deterioration of non-agricultural food technologies; and conversely, factors unfavorable to hunting, fishing, and possibly gathering, have indirectly contributed to the modern importance of agriculture to the Cayuá.[illegible]

*177 182 241 412 II. A. c. "Greater present technological efficiency and productivity of the individual worker in agriculture. It is possible not only for more agricultural

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[illegible] The cattle, and in a few cases swine, present something of a problem to the Cayuá agriculture, however. Those living near open country where cattle graze must make the trails to their fields circuitous and difficult and must build gates or other barricades. Otherwise the cattle may invade the plantations and cause large scale depredations, as certain wild animals always have done. The latter, however, may be trapped and killed whereas the cattle of the Neo-Brazilians may not.

[411] [illegible] An instance in which this has not been wholly true, however, is that of the introduction of metal implements. The machete has developed into one of the most commonly employed hunting weapons for certain small game such as armadillos, substituting for the club, reported by some authorities as in use by the aboriginal Cayuá. At the same time, of course, the machete has been a notable factor in enhancing large scale agriculture.

work to be accomplished but for the individual to do it single-handedly." The 177*
efficiency of the modern Cayuá worker in agriculture has but a single impor- 182
tant accultural cause (I. b.), the introduction of metal cutting imple-
ments. Particularly important are the machete, the axe, and the hoe, as has 241
been mentioned. Compared with whatever aboriginal substitutes, there can 412
be little question of the much greater efficiency of these metal tools.

In some sense, however, the several factors making for an increase in agri- 177*
culture were generally influential here; otherwise there might have been no
occasion for the individual to increase his agricultural efficiency and produc- 182
tivity. Obviously the relationship is close, and the distinction herewith of a 241
separate item, the efficiency of the worker, must be justified by its later appli-
cation in the analysis.

II. A. d. "A loss or diminution of certain native industries." The loss of 177*
native industries is a common accultural effect, and there are a number 182
of common causes. The primary cause in the Cayuá instance is (I. e.), the
introduction of trade goods. Particularly significant have been trade goods 439
which will substitute adequately for aboriginal handicraft products. Among [415]
these, for example, are the iron pots, bottles, and tin cans which have so suc- [323]
cessfully all but killed the native ceramic industry. Weaving has suffered much [286]
with the introduction of machine-made textiles, obtainable at the *bolichos*, and
has been handicapped also by the change to clothing styles for which store
cloth is more adaptable than aboriginal homework.

At the same time, some white trade items, such as (I. b.), metal tools, have [412]
had a contrary effect. Knives and machetes particularly have made certain [322]
crafts easier, largely crafts where cutting or splitting processes are important.
This is evident in the preparation of vegetable fibers for weaving and tying, or [285]
the splitting of rattan for baskets and strainers. Such technological improve-
ment, however, has not appreciably counteracted the decline of native indus-
tries whose products find ready trade goods substitutes.

By extension, factors which have enhanced trade relations between the Cayuá and the Neo-Brazilians have contributed to the loss or decrease of native industries. Aboriginal handicraft industries have thus been adversely affected by (I. f.) the growth of an external market for male Cayuá labor.
Moreover, besides providing one more way in which the Cayuá may obtain [464]
trade goods substitutes, the *changa* (II. A. e.) in many cases occupies a great deal of work time. Frequently much of the time remaining after his own agricultural work is completed is used by the Cayuá in *changa* for local whites. The *changa* thus occupies some of the time formerly devoted to handicrafts.

The development of a small market for certain Cayuá products, including craft items, has also influenced the status of Cayuá handicrafts. The effect of a market (I. g.), however, has been to some extent ambivalent. On the one hand, the modern emphasis, in agricultural production, of a surplus which can

*177 be exchanged for trade goods has tended to cause a larger part of male working
182 time to be spent in agriculture. On the whole, this must imply less emphasis on
439 craft production. In addition, of course, the greater accessibility of trade goods
through this means, as already mentioned, favors a lesser dependence upon
Cayuá craft production.

*177 But certain Cayuá craft articles themselves command a price on the part of
182 the whites, and this has obviously tended to favor the corresponding skills.
Very few Cayuá craft items are of interest to whites, actually, but strainers or
439 winnowers and occasional hammocks, for example, are in some demand. Items
285 traded to the whites are naturally those for which no suitable trade goods substitutes exist. The overall influence, however, of (I. g.) a small Neo-Brazilian
286 market for Cayuá products has been to cut down craft production in some lines
while it has favored craft production in the few items sometimes traded to
whites. The net result is a decrease in the number of crafts—unless (as does
not appear likely) *new* crafts, not known aboriginally, have been added to the
Cayuá repertory. This concentrates remaining production in a smaller number
of crafts.

*177 II. A. e. "Labor relations with Neo-Brazilian settlers are established
182 (*changa*), entailing dealings for white goods or for money, or in terms of it.
(Incidentally, this is the most intensive and intimate present point of contact
464 between the Cayuá and whites.)" The acculturational causes of the *changa*
648 are primarily two: the introduction of white trade goods which the Cayuá
learned to know and desire (I. e.), and (I. f.) the development of a market
439 among the Neo-Brazilians for Cayuá male labor. In other words, the reasons
for the development of the *changa* are that the whites had goods the Cayuá
wanted, and labor was at the beginning about the only thing that the Cayuá
could offer in return. The whites could use Cayuá labor in their agricultural
production or forest extractive industries and came to desire and later even to
demand a certain amount of work from the aborigines.

There is now some conflict with the *changa* in (I. g.) the existence of an external market for certain Cayuá agricultural and craft products. This market provides a possible alternative to wage work as a means for Cayuá to obtain white trade goods. Several Cayuá men have thus increased their plantings so as to be sure of a small crop surplus to exchange for trade goods. These individuals, as might be expected, include ones who rarely or never work in *changa*. Historically, however, the *changa* was probably developed and fairly well established before there was much question of a competing alternative method of obtaining trade goods. In other words, there was a regular white market for Cayuá services before any consistent white demand existed for Cayuá goods. This time relationship between conflicting acculturational factors naturally throws some light on the development of the *changa*.

The *changa* incidentally has tended to aid other trends in which white trade

goods and metal tools are significant, since it has been the commonest way for 177*
Cayuá to obtain trade goods. The following are instances: increased agricul- 182
tural production (i.e. in providing metal tools) (II. A. a.), (II. A. d.) the de- 439
crease or loss of certain Cayuá crafts (i.e. in providing trade goods substitutes), 464
and (II. A. f.) trade relations with Neo-Brazilians (since the *changa* involves
dealings with whites for goods and sometimes for money). The *changa* also
occupies a certain amount of work time and in this sense has tended to conflict 648
somewhat with (II. A. a.) the development of agriculture. In the same way it
is a factor in the decline of such activities as hunting and fishing (II. A. b.).
But the *changa* has tended to reinforce the Cayuá in their own agriculture, on
the other hand, in the sense that it usually involves the same type of (agricul-
tural) work. It has not, therefore, necessitated habituation to a different set
of skills which might conflict with agriculture. Moreover, habituation to agri-
cultural operations may have been of considerable account in the past when
the Cayuá man, we are led to believe, was not the farmer he is today.

II. A. f. "Trade relations with Neo-Brazilians are established and increase. These involve both (1) buying white trade goods, and (2) selling small amounts of certain Cayuá products." Several acculturational causes have favored the establishment of trade relations with Neo-Brazilians. Among the most important are the introduction of trade goods (I. b. and I. e.) which the Cayuá came to require, and (I. f.) the growth of a market for certain Cayuá goods, including a few craft products. The development of *changa* wage-work (II. A. e.) has fostered trade relations with Neo-Brazilians, and *changa* is now an important factor in the flow of goods and services. The development of aboriginal agriculture to a point where an occasional tradable surplus now exists (II. A. a.) has made possible the inclusion of certain agricultural produce in the limited two-way commerce between Cayuá and Neo-Brazilians.

SECONDARY EFFECTS OF ACCULTURATION

Having discussed II. A., primary or immediate effects of acculturation, we 128
may turn to II. B., secondary or derived effects of acculturation. "Secondary
Effects" are distinguished from "Primary Effects" as being on the whole less 177*
immediate in time to the conditions of white advent and less immediate in 182
causal relation to these conditions. "Secondary Effects" are related through
"Primary Effects" to the factors we have been treating as "Causes of Accul-
turation." "Primary Effects," therefore, are primary in the causal sense of the
configuration under study, and "Secondary Effects" are in the same sense
causally secondary or derived.

An example may suffice. The first "Secondary Effect" discussed below is (II. B. b.) "Individual economic differentiation." This effect is expressed both in the growing specialization of individuals in crafts and also in the increasingly clear alternatives for men of earning a living either in wage-work or, tradi-

128 tionally, in their own clearings. It is clear that "individual economic differentiation" is secondary here to the existence of a system of wage-work. Likewise it
*177 is secondary to the decline of certain crafts and the development of specialists
182 in the remaining ones. Yet these latter two contributory factors, though acculturational, are not the initial causes of acculturation, that is, are not themselves the facts of the white culture and its advent. They are already the *primary* or *immediate* effects of certain facts of white culture upon the culture of the Cayuá. An effect such as the economic differentiation of individual Cayuá is one step farther along and therefore is secondary to the initial effects of acculturation from which it is derived.

The following secondary effects of acculturation, then, are classed together as having in common that they are not immediate results of acculturational influences upon the Cayuá. They are cultural changes which have come about through the interrelatedness of various of the initial or primary acculturational effects described foregoing. There are implications of neither chronology nor relative significance in the order of discussion of the secondary effects.

[462] II. 1. b. "Individual economic differentiation: (1) increasing craft specialization among both men and women; (2) tendency toward male alternatives
[241] to extent of work in own agriculture or in *changa*." The acculturational
[464] causes of craft specialization are not far to seek. Former native products were in many cases ousted as the Cayuá came more and more to depend upon trade goods equivalents, as we have noted above (pp. 100–102), resulting in (II. A. d.) the loss or decline of several native industries. No longer does each adult male or female necessarily know even the craft skills that presently remain—let alone all of the aboriginal crafts once taken for granted. Yet, since some craft products are still actually used and needed, persons who lack the corresponding skills are obliged to depend for these items on other Cayuá who still retain their skills. The result is specialization.

Trade may also have aided in the specialization of remaining native industries (II A. f.) because it inclines people to think of obtaining goods by other methods than producing them themselves. A Cayuá whose wife does not make hammocks may obtain one by exchanging some store cloth or other trade goods for it, or even by purchasing it for money, though the latter is rare. Changa and trade, therefore, have provided in some sense the possibility for successful limited craft specialization. The man who spends too much time in changa moreover is not only able (by exchanging white goods thus acquired) but is practically obliged to obtain some of the Cayuá-produced things he needs from other Cayuá.

464 Although it is only incipient as yet, there is some reason to think that
*177 (II. 1. b. c) the changa will eventually take its place alongside Cayuá own production as major means of earning a living. Wage work may never completely
182 oust domestic production—and it is certainly far from even threatening to do so at the present time; but there are already, in the case of a few individuals,

suggestions of the extent to which the one may interfere with the other. This is tantamount to saying that *changa* wage work may become an "alternative" (in Linton's sense) to home production—not merely, as it is at present, a somewhat optional adjunct, one possible means of acquiring desired trade goods. Whether the *changa* is to become more of an alternative or more of a complementary form of production, practiced side by side with their own agriculture by the same individuals, remains to be seen. 464 177* 182

At the present time, it is not possible—or, at least, easy—for a Cayuá to spend most of his productive energy working for the existing form of wages. For one thing, the man who now works "too much" in *changa* does not produce certain necessary goods in sufficient quantity for himself. A number of new usages will be required before he is able to acquire these goods easily. For example, the exchange of money or trade goods for Cayuá goods—largely foodstuffs—must first become generally accepted. This means a regular market. That there is no dependable exchange of goods among the Cayuá at the present is actually one reason why the lot of the few who work extensively in *changa* is not generally considered satisfactory.[illegible]

The ultimate consequences of a wage-work alternative to Cayuá agriculture are of much significance. One conceivable result is de-tribalization, which might occur if the Cayuá came to form essentially a stratum of wage workers in the local Neo-Brazilian society. The eventual possibility, however, is only hinted at up to the present time.

II. B. a. "Division of labor by sex: men come to be more important in the work of agriculture." 177* 182 241 462

> By common-sense arrangement the heavy work of felling trees for a clearing was the man's share, but planting, weeding and harvesting were feminine tasks. . . . However, the major change, [from female to male labor in the lighter agricultural activities] generally occurred when agriculture became a people's principal support so that hunting dropped out as an important occupation. Then the men turned farmers. . . .[illegible]

The general principle seems to apply to the changing sexual division of labor in Cayuá agriculture. In this sense, (II. A. a.) the increased scale and importance of agriculture and (II. A. b.) the decreased importance of hunting are probably the principal factors responsible for the change to basically male labor in farming.

Exactly why this should be so is perhaps more difficult to argue; that is,

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[illegible] It is also true that the rate of return for work performed, in terms of the ultimate needs of the Cayuá, is now less in the *changa* than in Cayuá home production. The Cayuá would not easily recognize the fact because of the *present* relative non-convertibility of trade goods and home-produced goods. II. B. g., the idea of price in general and of prices for specific commodities is now becoming more a part of Cayuá economic thinking. But present transactions are still so small in scale that it is impossible for the Cayuá to have any idea of the total value of what they produce in *changa* as compared to that produced in the same amount of time spent in their own family [635]

[illegible] Linton, 1940, p. [illegible].

*177 182 241 462 why should men take over more of the work of agriculture than formerly? Conceivably they might merely enjoy more leisure hours, since they no longer hunt so much; why necessarily increase their agricultural burdens, other things being equal? "Other things" were not equal in the Cayuá instance, to be sure; nor are the basic factors necessarily the same from one culture to another. For example, underlying cultural assumptions as to the normal or desirable, and therefore "just," economic contribution of the male, compared to his spouse, may vary widely. In some cases these assumptions may account for the male changing to produce agriculturally what he ceases to produce in hunting or fishing. In other cases, perhaps, no such reason or motivation may prevail. In Cayuá culture prevalent ideas about the economic obligations of men, as compared with women, may well have had a part in male compensation through agricultural production for decreasing hunting and fishing production.[illegible]

[412] At least two specific factors appear to be historically related to the present Cayuá sexual division of labor in agriculture. Let us look first at (I. b.) the innovation of metal implements so important technologically to the increased scale of Cayuá farming. The alien machete and the axe were received from white men; men, that is, were the sex whom the Cayuá first saw using these tools. The Cayuá did not see much of the women of the invader probably for some time, and in any case, white women have very little to do with the machete and the axe. Cayuá men were by far the sex most in contact with the alien society and culture at first; even at present it is men who still primarily have to do with whites, since the *changa* and trading are both eminently masculine activities. Not only were Cayuá males in a better position to do any borrowing, therefore, but it is scarcely conceivable that the new metal tools could have come into Cayuá culture with other than connotations of masculine use.[illegible] The crucial significance of the new tools in the expansion of agriculture, added to the male use and connotations of the tools themselves, would seemingly favor the increasing agricultural role of men.

[464] The growth of the *changa* (II. A. a.) may also have favored an increasing masculine role in Cayuá agriculture for the work of Cayuá men in the *changa* is generally agricultural work. Operations in wage-work are performed with the same metal implements which are now in use by the Cayuá. Thus, at some

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[583] [191] [illegible] A suggestion of the values of Cayuá culture on this point is the report among the Coastal Tupí of the husband's economic obligations to his wife's people. Obligations of "bride service" existed among the Tupí unless they were "cancelled out" by reciprocity of spouse-giving within the terms of the kinship system. Such a practice, as we have said, is not authenticated by documents for the Cayuá but seems likely for a number of reasons. It indicates something about the general economic role of men.

[illegible] Here is certainly an excellent case in point for the analysis of "types of contact" of Herskovits, Redfield, and Linton. The question is whether the contact is of immigrant men, and what elements of culture are thus likely to be made available by the special alien group to the indigenous people among whom they live (Herskovits, 1938, p. [illegible]).

time in the history of Cayuá acquaintance with whites, white tools, and white economy, men began using the metal implements now so important in their own farming; moreover, the *change* included agricultural work other than only felling trees and clearing, the aboriginal male agricultural tasks.[109] It is suggested, therefore, that the *change* may have been influential in habituating Cayuá men to agricultural operations associated with the white introduced metal tools.

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II. B. c. "Division of labor: individual work (vs. joint and cooperative labor) becomes relatively more important in a number of basic activities, notably agriculture and house-building." The most important factor in making feasible the present largely individual work is (II. A. c.) the greater individual efficiency in agriculture of the modern Cayuá. The significance of this factor is emphasized by (II. A. a.) the primary importance of modern agriculture. But the mere possibility of a more individual manner of working does not guarantee its realization. Individuals, for example, could become more efficient, thanks to (I. b.) better implements with which to operate, but they might well continue to work jointly or cooperatively as much as ever. Since Cayuá joint or cooperative work has not continued on the same scale as aboriginally, however, it remains to search for reasons beyond the permissive technological one which would account for the change to more individual forms of labor.

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(II. B. a.), the assumption by men of productive activities in agriculture which were new to them suggests the possibility of a corresponding new conception of individual work in these activities. Joint or cooperative usages which applied in aboriginal male work, that is, would not necessarily be carried over into such new activities as farming. Admittedly there would be some tendency for former practices to reappear, *mutatis mutandis*. However, if other factors weighed in favor of individual work, a carry-over of older joint work usages would be less likely than if the sexual division of labor remained unaltered.

We cannot, of course, be entirely sure to what extent aboriginal male activities actually were individual. Joint or cooperative male work probably found expression in aboriginal fishing, particularly where fish poisoning or damming was used as a technique. But inasmuch as the importance of Cayuá fishing is in doubt, such joint fishing usages may have had only a limited influence. In aboriginal agriculture there was also a certain cooperativeness in

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[109] At this point, the chronological question becomes significant: when did Cayuá male labor for whites begin in relation to (a) the beginning of larger scale Cayuá agriculture, and (b) the beginning of increased Cayuá male participation in agricultural activities? There is some reason to believe that Cayuá men were already working occasionally for creole Paraguayans while Cayuá agriculture was still fairly close to its aboriginal condition. [illegible] ([illegible], pp. [illegible] *et passim.*) mentions or implies both circumstances as being contemporaneous; but if it was not true that the Cayuá of that time worked agriculturally for the creoles, the fact still remains that metal implements, or [illegible], probably were used by the men, as in the [illegible] of [illegible].

*177 the male duties of cutting, burning, and clearing *kokwé* for planting, along
extended family lines, or perhaps with inter-family helpfulness as well. As has
182 been suggested, these usages would tend to be carried over into new male
241 activities. However, as a theory it is conceivable that aboriginal male labor
462 was characteristically rather individual—more so perhaps than the agricul-
tural activity of women. Hunting, for example, especially since no drive is in-
476 dicated aboriginally, and certain types of fishing may well have been primarily
individual occupations. If so, here is a factor of tradition favoring individual
work as men became more important in agriculture.

Two acculturational factors seem definitely to have made for individual
*177 male labor, (II. A. e.) the *changa* and (II. A. f.) trade relations with Brasilians.
182 (Practically only men of the Cayuá engage in *changa* and trade.) Neither of
462 these activities is easily amenable to jointness or cooperativeness. In *changa* a
man usually works alone for his Neo-Brasilian *patrão*. Joint wage work of
464 Cayuá is unusual, never involving more than two or three, and even here pay-
476 ment is individual; the *changa* is by definition antithetical to cooperation. Thus
the Cayuá is accustomed, while working for settlers, to performing (agricul-
648 tural) work alone. In *changa*, even cutting, firing, and clearing are done individ-
ually, though these activities among the Cayuá possibly had joint or cooper-
ative aspects in aboriginal times. In other words, as the *changa* has become
more important to the Cayuá, an increasing amount of their agricultural work
has taken on a purely individual character. It seems reasonable that this has
favorably influenced the singlehanded performance of work in agriculture
among the Cayuá themselves.

*177 The Cayuá distribution and use of the white goods obtained in trade and
changa is also an influence for individual work. The distribution of any goods
182 is related to the question of who does the work of producing them. Hence, if it
43 changes, distribution may be expected to have some influence for change upon
the division of labor, and vice versa. In aboriginal times, everything leads us
464 to believe, much of production such as agriculture, fishing, and perhaps other
476 types, was on a joint basis within extended family households. Joint distribu-
tion at that time was consistent with the prevailing joint production. The
aboriginal products of joint labor were largely food, and food can be readily
divided and apportioned jointly. Food was thus consumed by the same people
who produced it, as is the case in general in relatively undifferentiated, simple
economies where there is no class stratification of society.

Trade goods, however, present a problem of distribution quite different from that of jointly produced food. The bulk of trade goods, like their aboriginal equivalents, pots, articles of clothing, implements, and so forth, are matters of individual concern. These items could not easily, like food, be distributed and consumed jointly, and this was probably as true aboriginally as it is with modern trade goods. Yet to the extent that the Cayuá barter for trade goods, it is largely food (agricultural produce) which they give to the whites in exchange. What would be the effect on the aboriginal joint production and distribution system of the exchange of joint produce for articles which were to be individually used? Could one well take corn from joint household stores to exchange for a machete which primarily would be his own? There was thus a tendency to produce individually goods which were to be bartered for benefits enjoyed individually. 177* 182 43 464 476

In the *changa* the problem of tradegoods is more simply resolved. An individual can more easily exchange his services for individual compensation than he can goods which are jointly produced. It is likely, furthermore, that the exchange of services for trade good in the *changa* preceded any significant exchange of Cayuá produce for trade goods. Thus the ground may well have been broken for some individualization of production before the people actually began to trade their corn and other produce.

To sum up the reasons for a growing individualization of work, particularly in agriculture, the *changa* and trade with Neo-Brazilians are both conducted along lines in which individual work is almost exclusively involved. In the second place, they both imply certain conflicts, especially regarding distribution of goods, with aboriginal forms of joint or cooperative labor and production. These conflicts, together with the technical feasibility of individual work, have been important causes of the decrease of joint and cooperative labor and production.

With reference to housebuilding, one other activity where modern individualization is noted, it will merely be registered here that a change from joint and cooperative work to more highly individual work has apparently occurred among the Cayuá, as a result of acculturational factors. Housebuilding activities are intimately connected with the complex of causes and effects to be discussed with (II. B. c.) the decrease in size of the production and consumption units. Analysis of the present point, too, will be left until later.[20] 177* 182 476 342 621

II. B. c. "Production-consumption group: size and composition of basic unit shift from extended family to elementary family. Closely related are (1) a change to small house types, and (2) a modification of dwelling patterns (at Taquapiri), re location of house near field." The change of the basic social unit has two broad aspects, (a) the feasibility of the elementary family, and (b) the desirability of the change from the aboriginal extended family. We shall treat the two aspects somewhat separately.[21]

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[20] Indeed, the entire present question of recent emphasis on individual work is closely related to a number of points which follow, including what is described as (II. B. g.) a change in attitudes as to relations of individual and group. Very likely they are all but different facets of a single broad question, and the whole will not [illegible] until the various facets have all been examined. [121]

[21] The distinction between "feasibility" and "desirability" here and elsewhere in this paper relates closely to Homans' "Three elements [illegible] of the behavior of individuals in groups," activities, sentiments, and interaction (Homans, 1950, pp. [illegible]). "Feasibility" would imply, in Homans' scheme, [illegible] [121]

*177 The feasibility of a change to the elementary family is partly a result of (I.b.) the introduction of metal implements leading to (II. A. c.) greater individual efficiency in agricultural work. At the same time, (II. A. a.) the increased importance of agricultural work has been a reinforcing factor. We have already noted (II. B. c.) that individual work, as opposed to joint or cooperative work, has become more important in agriculture and house-building. Severally, these interrelated factors have made it practicable for smaller domestic units to produce independently for their own consumption the currently recognized goods of the economy. Not only can an elementary family now provide for themselves without fear of too great a fluctuation in food yield from one season to the next, but now there is even a chance of a small surplus for trade. Successful food production in the present smaller family group probably does not entail effort greatly beyond that long characteristic in the culture.

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We must now turn to a consideration of why a shift to a basic elementary family was desirable, in the sense in which we have been using the term. This gradual shift in sentiments is closely related to the complex of factors which (II. B. c.) individualized the division of labor. Most notable have been (II. A. e.) the changa and (II. A. f.) trade relations with Neo-Brazilians. Both of these activities, as has been shown (see pp. 107–109), tended to emphasize individualistic operations and tended to create conditions in conflict with any other distribution of goods than an individualistic one as in the present elementary family. It may be, in fact, that (II. B. c.) individualization of labor and (II. B. e.) the shift to a basic elementary family are but different facets of the same larger trend; in any event, they are intimately related.

A more general impingement of acculturational factors upon the extended family system involves rules of residence. It is reasonable to assume, even in the lack of detailed facts, that there existed aboriginally a certain relation between the residence rules upon which the extended family was based and the sex division of labor. Perhaps the relation was keyed to a primary importance of women in agriculture; perhaps it was keyed to some other aspect of the sex division of labor. Whatever the key factor(s) for residence, the changed sex division of labor with the new importance of men in agriculture and in production as a whole would almost inevitably be a disturbing element in one sense or another. We can be fairly certain, that is, that the aboriginal division of labor by sex was of some importance and that any basic restructuring of it would make for some important change in the extended family system. In stated,

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[21] as well as interactions necessary or possible in the light of such operations. "Desirability" here is clearly [illegible] sentiments for an operation or a different form of interaction in [illegible] [illegible], not only does it have to be feasible in terms of the given technology, social organization, etc., but the sentiments attaching to the older form have to become weak enough for the people to adopt the new mode of behavior.

this is, to be sure, a rather unspecified influence. But when we note, as we have, 177*
the presence of just such other factors as would definitely favor the emergence 182
of an elementary type of family, it becomes somewhat more to the point to
mention even so unspecifiable an influence toward change as this. To say the 596
very least, the changed sex division of labor would have had, so to speak, a 594
loosening effect on the extended family. It may well be argued, furthermore,
that the frictions an extended type of family will inherently generate are bound 621
to cause its demise if supporting factors and those which mitigate friction are withdrawn, as it has been suggested they were in the present case.

One possible point of conflict of (II. B. a.) the increased importance of men in agriculture, and in the economy in general, with certain practices of the aboriginal extended family was the putative bride service of the pre-Conquest Cayuá. It is likely that bride service was weakened when the economic contribution of women decreased while that of men took the opposite turn. The argument is that bride service was based on the aboriginal woman's economic importance in the extended family. Her marriage, therefore, constituted a sizeable economic loss to her family and a consequent gain to the family into which she married. If this much is granted—and the evidence for aboriginal Cayuá bride service is admittedly not conclusive, it can readily be seen that a diminishing economic role of women would be a definite weakening factor in the custom of bride service.

Now bride service among the coastal and Paraguayan Tupi-Guarani, and [171
putatively among the early Cayuá, was accompanied by the temporary matri- 591]
local residence of a newly established married pair. This usage was necessarily integrated into the reigning extended type of family. It may be argued, therefore, that the gradual loss of bride service would mean the gradual discontinuance of temporary matrilocal residence. Any weakening of these usages, it is urged, would prepare the way for changes in the extended family system, such as neolocal or elementary family residence, particularly (and perhaps only) if there were other factors in the situation which also favored elementary family residence.[illegible]

If we assume warlikeness on the part of the aboriginal Cayuá (see pp. [illegible]), or at least assume a standing need for defense against warring neighbors, it is not far-fetched to point out that the extended family probably had some func-

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[illegible] What if matrilocality was the prominent aboriginal rule of residence among the Cayuá (as [illegible] argued by some but not favored by the writer)? In that case, the present argument, at least, would be even clearer than it is. That is, a matrilocal extended family would be based presumably upon the importance in agriculture of a nucleus of cooperating kinswomen. A change in the sexual division of labor, with increased male importance in agriculture, quite conceivably would favor the gradual abandonment of matrilocality and hence possibly of any extended family at all. This would be even more likely if the suggestion proved to be correct that male labor in agriculture [illegible] has always been less [illegible] cooperative than female.

*177 tion in the sense of social efficiency in war.[illegible] The patrilocal extended family,
182 for example, would have the advantage of being a group of closely related males
596 living together. With (I. a.) the final guarantee of freedom from hostile attack
594 and the prohibition of Cayuá aggressive warfare, the defensive function of the
621 patrilocal (or other) extended family was removed. Such a sequence of events can hardly have played more than a minor, contributory role in the abandonment of the extended family, of course, but the effect of contributory factors is nonetheless cumulative.

Why has (1) a change to small house types accompanied the change in the type of family and the size of basic social units in Cayuá acculturation? Perhaps it is to be expected, since the Cayuá production-consumption group is also always the dwelling group, the aboriginal extended family in its *tapüi*, just as much as the modern elementary family in the modern type of small houses. Hence, reduced to the least common denominator of family type, the elementary families will ultimately come to have separate structures of their own, and these will necessarily be of a different and smaller type than those suitable for extended families. At any rate, there is little more which can apparently be said regarding the "desirability" of the change to small house types. It may, therefore, be asked if the production of the small house is more feasible for the elementary family than the *tapüi*. (There is little doubt that the construction of *tapüi* was primarily carried out by the members of extended families acting as a group.) The answer is clearly affirmative, that modern small house architecture is closely related to the housebuilding capacities of the elementary family. The small house has become feasible for the small family mainly because of (I. b.) the introduction of metal implements, primarily the machete and the axe. These tools have brought housebuilding of the modern type well within the labor resources of the elementary family, whereas, although the machete and axe have doubtless also facilitated the building of *tapüi*, they have certainly not made *tapüi* construction feasible for so small a working group.[illegible]

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[171] [illegible] It is more than possible that any Cayuá aggressiveness which ever existed, comparable to that among other Tupi-Guarani, had disappeared before the coming of the whites and the establishment of the SPI actually prohibited warfare. This might account for the lack of any mention in the literature of [illegible] Cayuá aggressiveness. But even with the early cessation of aggressive warfare by themselves, the Cayuá were not exempt from fear of hostile attack by others until at least late in the 19th century. Thus patrilocal family efficiency in warfare [illegible] might have outlasted the loss of Cayuá aggressive warlikeness early in the acculturational period.

[illegible] It could be argued, of course, that some other types of architecture than the present might have been adopted in response to the necessity for a change to smaller houses. [illegible]

Only (2) the shift in dwelling pattern remains to be considered in its relation to the changed basic social unit. We have already seen (pp. 85–87) that the breakup of the small number of extended families characteristic of the aboriginal local groups into the larger number of component elementary families meant a conflict between two aboriginal usages. These were, first, residence among kindred (whether matrilocal or patrilocal does not matter here) and, second, establishment of dwellings near their respective agricultural clearings or *kokué*. The two practices were quite in accord with each other aboriginally, but in the modern situation they are not always reconcilable. In most cases, the location of elementary family dwellings among those of kinsmen has prevailed, and often at the expense of nearness to the *kokué*, where a man must frequently go to work on his crops. Apart from the change to a basic elementary family itself, the most important acculturational factor in this pull between traditions is (II. A. a.) the growth of agriculture, necessitating the use of a larger area for cultivation. Thus many individuals must establish *kokué* at some distance from their dwellings to have desirable land. The shifting nature of land use only increases this factor. The modern dwelling pattern represents one of the clearest Cayuá examples of the splitting of formerly amenable elements of an aboriginal complex and the development of a clash between them. No local Brazilian precedent exists to explain, via the direct borrowing argument, the present Cayuá conflict. 177* 182 594 596 621

The final resolution of the pull between traditions of location near kin and location near *kokué* is not apparent at present. The summer field house (see pp. 86–87) seems hardly a permanent answer. As far as the tendency to establish near *kokué* becomes effective, it must have the result of further emphasizing the social discreteness of the elementary family as the basic production-consumption unit. To the extent that the traditional dwelling location near kin prevails, there will be the problem of distance to the *kokué*. Nor can kin [illegible] always solve the problem by jointly relocating their several houses because their *kokué* are often not all together.[39]

It is necessary in ever increasing degree to go far out from the center of the village to find new land suitable for cultivation. It may even be that the Cayuá of Taquapiri, if not of other reserves likewise, will in the future face a land problem because their reservation is not unlimited as were their domains in the past. Otherwise, technological improvements will be necessary, such as rotation, more regular fallowing, or the use of the plow. (The plow is not used in [657]

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why the house type of the whites could be and was borrowed. Such a simple statement would imply the commonly encountered idea of a sort of "cultural osmosis."

[39] In connection with the broader considerations of rural sociology, the Cayuá conflict between location of the house near the fields or location in a group with other houses is closely paralleled by the different common American and common European rural practices. [illegible]

*179 this region by Neo-Brazilians either.) Such changes might permit the Cayuá
to use their land longer and less destructively. Conceivably, however, recourse
182 to the changa may bulk ever larger in the lives of the people as a compensation
594 for diminishing agricultural returns. In this manner they might be reduced to
596 the status largely of agricultural laborers for the local Neo-Brazilian popula-
621 tion, and hence would probably become de-tribalized.

*179 II. B. g. "Economic attitudes: (1) relations of individual and group change.
(Formerly more cooperativeness and helpfulness.) Associated with foregoing
182 is (2) greater commercialism or economic rationalism." The change in senti-
156 ments and relations of the individual vis-à-vis the group has closely followed
(II. A. C.) greater individual productivity and efficiency, particularly in such an increasingly important economic activity as agriculture. It has already been noted (II. B. c.) that the division of labor changed in accordance with technological possibility, so that individuals are, in fact, more self-sufficient and now depend less upon others in their productive activity. Attitudes have correspondingly changed, and individualism of undertaking is increasingly assumed in sentiment as well as in interaction.

In the Cayuá instance, some of the same acculturational factors which historically brought about (II. B. c.) a more individualized division of labor also tended to make for a more commercialistic view of economic matters. Two principal causes are (II. A. e.) the changa for Neo-Brazilians, and (II. A. f.) trade relations with Neo-Brazilians, particularly the sentiments they engender on the part of the Cayuá. This is not a simple "adoption," in some crude sense, of Neo-Brazilian ways of thought and action; it is not, as it appears superficially, merely a gradual approximation of the native culture to the European culture. The point is rather that, the more Cayuá engaged in trade and work relations with their settler neighbors, the more they were obliged, for their own self-interest, to assume certain new attitudes and forms of behavior in these dealings. The new attitudes necessary on the part of the Cayuá were such as would conflict with the comparable attitudes of aboriginal times. Gradually out of the resulting conflict emerged the sentiments which we have called individualism and commercialism.

Relations with the Neo-Brazilians in the changa constitute a type of productive activity for the Cayuá in which the individual's earnings and own self-interest are his sole concern. No other organization of the wage work could probably succeed because of the leading part the whites, with their different orientation, play in the arrangements. In any event, all of the gainful work in the changa goes to the individual worker, and while engaged in it he is effectively removed from the physical presence of other Cayuá. Thus the changa is not collective work; it is almost always individual.

The changa tends to give rather exclusive emphasis to the economic gain itself which is involved. In other words, a rational commercialism, or commercialism, is fostered by this wage work. There is little of equality of [illegible]

ness such as might exist if *changa* activity were carried out in company with 177*
other Cayuá. Relations between the Indians and the whites are definitely
those of inferior to superior. The *changa* is normally free of most conceivable 182
non-commercial social values; cooperation, reciprocity, or helpfulness are 156
incidental, if present at all, and the residuum for the Cayuá *peão* is simply a
restricted, individual self-interest in economic gain.[199] Whether the *changa*
relations of Cayuá with whites involve any direct transmission of white commercialistic
or individualistic attitudes *per se*—beyond those implicit in the
nature of the relationship—is not known. It is possible that direct transmission
of attitudes takes place; but even if not, there is little doubt that the
changa "exposes" the *peão* to a situation in which a certain individualism and
commercialism of sentiment must result.

(II. A. 1.) trade relations with Neo-Brazilians have much the same effect 177*
as the *changa*. The economic benefit from trade with whites is an individual
benefit. The motive of economic self-interest and the attitude of economic 182
rationalism are important because they are largely inherent and inevitable in 43
the trade complex as the Cayuá know it. Like the *changa*, trade relations of
Cayuá with Neo-Brazilians are lacking in most non-commercial social values, 181
even such values as would mark white trading with whites—the pleasure of bargaining, the swapping of news and comments, and so forth. The Cayuá negotiation is more restricted to the purely commercial ends of the respective parties, and the Cayuá would often need to be more clever than is necessary for the Brazilian customer if he were not to be cheated. It is not out of any awareness of social values, such as a spirit of helpfulness, reciprocity, or pleasurable social intercourse, that the Cayuá trade with whites (or vice versa). This trade rather takes place almost exclusively in order to obtain certain goods.

Actual money may sometimes enter into trading transactions, and money as a measure of value is often used when no money actually passes hands. The concept of price thus insinuates itself into Cayuá economic thinking (attitudes). Consider the effect upon social relations, in which non-commercial aspects are already at a near minimum, of an abstract, arbitrary standard of economic value such as money, which is largely divorced from any concern other than that of a measure of economic gain or loss.[200]

Ideas of money price prevalent in (II. A. 1.) commercial dealings on the outside are also being brought into relations within Cayuá society itself. In

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[199] [illegible]

[200] [illegible]

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

177 182 43 181 one sense this is expectable since some of the goods and services which enter into Cayuá dealings with Cayuá are (I. b. and I. c.) such that did not exist aboriginally. It is likely, therefore, that some notion of price was attached to these commodities at the very time they were introduced to the indigenes—or the price connotation of such goods and services soon after became quite apparent to the economically ingenuous Cayuá. The "internal changa," one Indian working in the paid employ of another, is thus a type of service which did not exist aboriginally. Likewise, for example, if corn sold by the Cayuá to the trader generally comes to command a certain price, a price or money valuation may also tend to hold in exchanges of corn among the Cayuá themselves. Internal wage-work and internal trade are clear instances of a change in type of economy and in Cayuá economic values, as a result of acculturational causes.[illegible]

177 182 462 595 II. B. d. "Polygyny: less frequent than aboriginally, possibly nonexistent."[illegible] The principal reason for the decrease of polygyny among the Cayuá appears to be an economic one. Put most directly, it is that women have become considerably less important economically on the whole, and especially in relation to the increasing economic importance of men. This is best understood as a result of acculturational causes. In the first place is (II. B. a.) the change in the division of labor by sex with men assuming the major role in agriculture. Meanwhile (II. A. a.) agriculture itself becomes much more important. Moreover, agriculture has become increasingly important to the Cayuá, not only as production for direct consumption but also because of (II. A. f.) the exchange of a certain amount of agricultural production for the now essential trade goods. All of these factors have emphasized the male economic role. Running parallel (II. A. d.), native industries have become less important, and some have been lost entirely. Here again the result is that the woman's contribution, as in agriculture, has been diminished. To these reasons for the greatly decreased relative economic importance of women may also be added (II. A. e.) the changa, an important form of Cayuá production today which is not even partially the province of the female. Nor, to counterbalance all this, is there any indication of important new lines of economic activity for women.

[illegible]

[illegible]

177* 182 595

There can thus be little question that the absolute and relative economic contribution of women to the Cayuá domestic establishment has shrunk notably since aboriginal times. It may surely be questioned whether the woman now "earns her keep" at all, by aboriginal standards. Certainly she is not as great an economic asset to the household as she apparently used to be. One woman is probably all that most Cayuá men can now support; they could scarcely increase their economic means proportionately by marrying a second or a third wife.[173]

In some sense (II. B. e.) the change to a basic elementary family may also be related to the decrease in polygyny. Considering that the marriage of individuals from different families is important as an alliance, it is clear that having several wives would formerly have allied a man (and his extended family) with several extended families. Aboriginally this would have been a significant number—possibly a majority—of the other extended families, the basic social units, of the local group.[174] But with the present elementary family, the polygynous marriage could not nearly achieve connections as inclusive as formerly because of the large number of separate households. Conceivably the change of the function of the marital alliance has affected the decrease of polygyny.

One further possibility of acculturational influence in the decrease of polygyny is (I. a.) the discontinuance of warlike activities. The function of warfare in the aboriginal sex ratio is hard to assess. If there existed Cayuá warfare and ritual cannibalism such as have been described for the Coastal Tupi, it is conceivable that these activities may have affected the sex ratio somewhat and thus would have slightly favored plural female spouses.[175] Hence, any decrease in warfare, which consequently balanced the sex ratio, might exercise a cumulative influence on the frequency of polygyny.

The question naturally arises as to what influence upon the occurrence of polygyny may have been exerted, for ethnocentric and moral reasons, by the Jesuits and the Neo-Brazilians. There does not appear much doubt that the Jesuits insisted that their proselytes be exclusively monogamous; but what residual effect this may have had through the years upon the non-missionized

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[173] At Taquapiri, while we were there, there was no instance of polygyny, although it was said that Inacio, also reputedly the "wealthiest" individual in the village (he had the largest *kokwé*), in the past had more than one wife. Inacio's household, by the way—and this seems only to accord with our contention here—carried on its production and consumption in a manner quite unusual for the rest of the village and much closer to the aboriginal extended family pattern which we have been postulating.

[174] It may thus have been, as is suggested by Kirchhoff for the coastal Tupi (Kirchhoff, 1931, p. 205), that only chiefs (heads of extended families?) as a rule contracted polygynous marriages. As far as the alliance aspect of marriage was concerned, however, the marital connections of the headman would probably apply to the whole extended family unit. [171] [622]

[175] The coastal Tupi also captured female prisoners, to be sure, but probably not as large a number of women were lost to their group this way as were men. [171]

*177 182 595 peoples is open to question. The possibility of such an influence must certainly be kept in mind. As for the Neo-Brazilians, some direct influence against Cayuá polygyny is almost certain, though it has probably been quite limited. It has been limited both because of the ease of concealment from whites by Cayuá of their marital status, and because Neo-Brazilian influence in this respect could only be highly informal under existing conditions and not a matter of concerted action. Our own observations in the field lead to the opinion that the local whites actually have very little correct information of the Cayuá culture. They are to a large extent rather unconcerned about it, except in such matters as the availability of workers for *changa* and the suspicion of alleged property depredations by Indians. It seems reasonable, therefore, to consider direct white influences as but one more contributing factor in the decline of polygyny, not a cause set apart by its importance.

*177 182 582 602 II. B. f. "Kinship system: presumptive marital rights of mother's brother to sister's daughter (avuncular marriage) disappear." It has already been suggested that the Cayuá kinship system was aboriginally characterized by the avuncular form of marriage reported for the Coastal Tupi, although the former presence of the usage is not directly borne out by modern kinship practices. (See pp. 34–37.) At present, the mother's brother-sister's daughter marriage not only is not presumptive but is widely considered incestuous. Can we account for such a change in terms of accultural factors and hence indirectly strengthen our contention of the aboriginal existence of this avuncular form? To do so, we will have to understand something of how the preferential marriage operated.[178]

621 The aboriginal Cayuá village was composed of several, rather independent households, each living in a single large dwelling or *tapûi*. Some sort of cohesive force is indicated as a means of linking the various households and lineages of the local Cayuá community. Marital ties are, of course, a well recognized, universal means of social cohesion; in simple communities they are the most important 591 or even the exclusive means of inter-familial alliance. With patrilocal residence (coupled with temporary matrilocality, probably, in the case of a non-avuncular marriage) a completely feasible way of relating households through kinship was the marriage of the sister's daughter to the mother's brother, as shown in Figure 3. When the mother's brother's presumptive marriage was realized during successive generations, or even if it were somewhat less regularly realized, it served the purpose of closely relating one extended household to the other in the local community. With an extended family and a rule of patrilocality, the presumptive spouses came from different households and different extended families. Moreover, all members of Ego's own generation, cross and parallel cousins, at least of the first degree, were classed as siblings.

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[178] In connection with the following hypothesis the writer is very much indebted to Professor Fred Eggan of the University of Chicago for discussions in which many of the important points were brought out. Some repetition of previous description unfortunately seems unavoidable here.

Thus an even broader extension of the inter-household relationship was possible (that is, including other than own sisters) than if the marital claim were restricted merely to Ego's own sister's daughters.[177]

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Two widely recognized and accepted principles of kinship have been appealed to in the foregoing interpretation of the aboriginal Cayuá kinship system; these principles were operative if the situation was as has been described. (1) Matrimony in primitive (and other) societies is intimately concerned with cementing group alliances between different families and clans. (2) There is often no incest tabu between persons who are members of different kinship or locality groups as socially defined, whatever the biological facts of their relationship. The matter of locality is probably crucial in many cases;

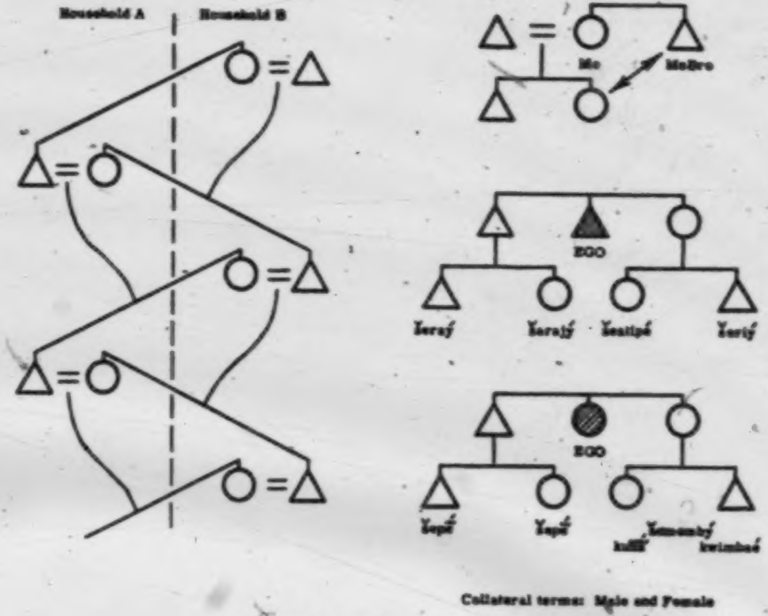

FIG. 3. The Preferential Avuncular Marriage.

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[177] Cross-cousin marriage, in the case of a rule of uniform locality (with the family of either spouse), would accomplish the same purpose of linking households through kinship. Simple cross-cousin marriage, however, is not indicated for the Cayuá at present (cousins are called siblings). Perhaps this is in some way because of the bilateral emphasis of the kinship system or, at least, because of the weak development of unilateral sentiments—if such, indeed, exist. But the presumptive marital claim of the chart above was actually asymmetrical cross-cousin marriage in that sister's daughter is also Ego's mother's brother's daughter.

*177 separate or distant residence may be sufficient to warrant exclusion of a person
182 from the incest group. The following speculation as to what has happened in
Cayuá social organization is therefore offered: (1) As a result of accultura-
582 tional forces (II. B. e.) extended families, which were formerly allied by certain
matrimonial ties, have ceased to exist. The related matrimonial ties of alliance
601 have likewise disappeared. (2) It was formerly significant, regarding permis-
[596] sible marriages, whether or not a woman belonged to one's own extended family
[591] and residence group. A man could not marry a woman belonging to his own
residence group (nor could he wed sisters and parallel cousins) but he might marry one from another household, which would include, given patrilocal residence, sisters' daughters. (3) The significance of residence has been lost or changed since, at present, none but one's own wife and children (or parents and siblings, depending on the point of reference) normally lives in the same (elementary family) group. Thus sister's daughter is now in this respect no different from—in fact may be significantly parallel to—other female relatives who are and aboriginally were encompassed by Cayuá sentiments of incest.

The argument might be restated as follows: with the disappearance of the extended family, a type of preferential marriage or presumptive marital claim, as well as the particular notion of the incest boundary associated with it, were evidently subject to change. For one thing, there was no longer a question of cementing ties between particular extended family households, such as that into which a man's sister had married. Concerning ties between elementary families, since whatever marriage normally involves a spouse from some other elementary family, a marital alliance with one potential affinal group is theoretically as advantageous as with another. Moreover, in the former extended family the incest boundary apparently included all female relatives, at least to the degree of first cousin, and their children. The one exception was sister's daughter, man speaking. In the realignments attending the loss of the extended family, we suggest that the incest boundary came to include this formerly excepted relationship as well. Other things being equal, there would be a strain in such a direction. In the first place, both parallel and cross cousins are called brothers and sisters, and secondly, marriage with the children of brothers was aboriginally tabooed for men, while marriage with the children of any sibling was tabooed for women. The sister's-daughter marriage, therefore, in the new situation, and without special motives in its favor, would tend to be brought into line with the incest taboo against marriage with other relatives parallel to sister's daughter.

*177 One function of the presumptive avuncular marriage was to "consolidate"
a given household through marriage back into it of the female issue of its
182 women. The possibility of such a correlation is strong aboriginally. This oper-
582 ated much as the cross-cousin marriage does in certain cultures. But with
(II. B. e.) the dissolution of the extended family household in favor of the
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elementary family unit, any such consolidating function of marriage tended 177*
to disappear. The avuncular marriage assumes a continuity of family through 182
generations, a continuity not characteristic of the present elementary family. 582
It involves the marriage of a son to a daughter's daughter. A given son at the 59
present time, however will ultimately establish a household of his own. No marriage of his could, in the aboriginal sense, therefore, bring into the (extended) family a female, whether to replace that "lost" to them through the marriage of his sister, or for any other reason. Aboriginally the son in question often did not wait to contract his (first) marriage until a daughter of one of his sisters had been born and come of age; ordinarily he already had established a family of his own long before the time a sister's daughter was old enough to marry. Nowadays this would mean the previous establishment of a separate household. A marriage to the sister's daughter at present could not thus return that female to the same household which the sister had left in marrying. In other words, in the absence of the continuity of residence and lineage over succeeding generations, inherent in the extended family, the "return" or replacement of females to the same household from which their mothers had come could not operate in the same way.

This suggests another modern inconsistency with the avuncular marriage, (II. B. d.) the prevalent monogamy of the present day. With aboriginal polygyny (the frequency of which we do not know), marriage with the sister's daughter was not as difficult as now. With the possibility of more than one wife, the mother's brother need not wait, as we have said before, for a daughter to be born to his sister and to come of age. He might already have married at least one wife in the meantime.[178] Only later, therefore, did he come to consider marriage with his sister's daughter, when the latter was old enough. Polygyny, far from being a disadvantage, was then somewhat of an advantage because of the economic productivity of the female. Nowadays, if he married first and later also married his niece, the resulting economic burden of more than one wife would usually be too great.

II. B. h. "Political structure: greater centralization of power in community 177*
and establishment of factions; replacement of aboriginal (extended family) 182
household heads and former decentralized control." In the changed political 622
structure of the modern Cayuá, two factors have been particularly effective. 648
They are (I. c.) the establishment of the Cayuá on *reservas* administered by the
SPI, and (I. h.) white political influence for centralization stemming from
the tendency of Europeans to insist upon "talking to the head man." Very [621]
likely the white assumption of a "leader," a general trait of Europeans, re- [657]
sulted in the institution of the *capitão* long before the SPI appeared on the scene. The case of the Cayuá is far from being exceptional in this respect.

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[178] Kirchhoff, 1931, pp. 204 ff.

*177 Jesuit writings and, indeed, some of the earliest chronicles we have create the
182 impression of a central political figure of some prominence among the indi-
genes. The prominence of this political officer, whom the whites usually called
622 *capitán* or *cacique*, may well have been limited at first largely to dealings with
648 Europeans—at least among Tupi-Guarani peoples.[179] It was naturally more convenient for the whites to deal directly with a single individual in authority. As contacts with whites began to bulk larger in the lives of the Indians, centralization of authority in external relations probably became stronger and more important—even extending to internal matters of the indigenous group.

[657] The SPI came into being very late in the process, 1910. Apparently they largely took over pre-existing white political usages concerning relations with the Cayuá. At any rate, the nomination (or at least approval) of a *capitão* and his adjutant *sargento* (both of these terms occur in the earlier literature), seems now to be a standard practice of the SPI as far as the Cayuá are concerned.

*177 It is not clear just what was the political influence of the fact (I. a.) that
the Cayuá were increasingly and finally guaranteed freedom from fear of hos-
182 tile attack. There is little doubt that the political officer(s) of the aboriginal
622 Cayuá must have been concerned at least somewhat with war. The lessened
importance of war activity may, in theory, have produced a tendency toward
721 a less centralized and weaker political authority. But any such tendency was offset in another direction by the necessity of dealing with the whites, and ultimately with the SPI. What resulted, therefore, was not really a question of a less or more centralized polity than aboriginally but a polity in which authority came to be of a different quality. Political authority came to be exercised less and less in matters of war, and finally not at all—as at present. The new political province included relations with whites and, in general, concerned the disposition to be made of questions of external relations. Such a change in administrative function presumably made the political office(s) quite different from the aboriginal prototypes and may also have resulted in a different quality of personnel. (Differences of degree of individual acculturation along age-grade lines might, for example, bring young men to the fore, if they could speak the European tongue, in order to better treat with the whites.)

*177 The suggestion is occasionally encountered in the literature that shamans
(*paˀí*) were sometimes men of considerable civil authority. Assuming that
182 immediate direction of war activities was not aboriginally within the province
756 of the shaman, the lessening importance of war activities might leave shamans
more than ever in control of the field of political operations. At the same time,
622 as we have suggested, the field of political operations probably became more important and its administration more centralized. All of this, of course, is well within the realm of speculation, but it does seem attractive as a possibil-

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[179] *Viz.* Kirchhoff, 1931, pp. 216 *et passim.* "Nowhere (in non-Andean South America) do real tribal chieftains appear to exist; in war, allied settlements choose a war chieftain."

ity, especially in the light of unescapable early references to powerful shamans 177*
who appear to have been responsible frequently for deciding civil matters.

Related to the change in aboriginal polity is (II. B. e.) the disappearance 182
of the extended family household and its replacement by the elementary family
household. There is little doubt that household headmen existed, and these 756
among themselves may also have exercised authority over the affairs of the 622
local group as a whole. In the extended family system the household chiefs were probably individuals who had assumed their positions by virtue of kinship, marital ties, and age. Some of the chiefs may also have been shamans (*pa'í*). The village chief, if one existed, was likely only a somewhat more influential household chief, although there was regularly no great political power or centralization of control associated with the office. Households or extended families appear to have had much autonomy.

With (II. B. e.) the breakup of the extended family, the opportunity for the household chiefs directly to exercise power largely withered away. Only the single formal office of the *capitão* of the village as a whole remained (or later came into being?) as a point of specific authority.[109] The reality of the *capitão* as a source of authority was aided, as we have seen, by the attitude of the whites.

What of the old extended family polity? The composition of the present- 177*
day factions is suggestive on this point. It is likely that these factions are
derived from the former extended families; the faction leaders are individuals 182
who presumably would formerly have been household headmen. At present,
faction leaders are usually senior members of the various localized kin nuclei 621
(see p. 85) of the village. Under the modern unitary system of political author- 622
ity, of course, all but one faction leader must be "out of office" at a given time.

The *capitão* himself may sometimes be no regular faction leader because
other factors, such as the SPI, enter into his nomination. Moreover, no formal 657
means to exercise authority are now available to the several faction leaders who are not in the position of *capitão*. However, the agreements and disagreements, the informal maneuvering and manipulation of these factions today can hardly be discounted in any complete political description of the Cayuá community at Taquapiri. The loss of the extended family and the formal authority of its headman, together with the consolidation of authority in the *capitão*, reflect the new, but the older pattern continues in attenuated form in the factions and their central personalities.

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[109] Not to lose a sense of proportion, it must be emphasized that the present office of *capitão* is by no means a very formal, active, strong, or inclusive authority. The Cayuá local group is too small and intimate for that. In some respects the average *capitão*, judging mainly from Taquapiri, is no more than the vox *populi*.

VI. SUMMARY AND METHODOLOGICAL NOTE

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WAS CAYUÁ ACCULTURATION GRADUAL AND PACIFIC?

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A SUMMARY of the acculturation of the Cayuá of Brazil could scarcely fail to point out that these people have not been completely displaced territorially, although they have been located on rather small reservations; nor have they been uprooted culturally, though their sociocultural character has undergone considerable change over several centuries. The local groups of the tribe still live a way of life which presents a picture both of organization and of notable continuity with the aboriginal past. Unfortunately, however, no close comparison of the degree of organization of the modern culture and the aboriginal Cayuá can be made. Such a comparison would justify us in concluding more about the overall effect of acculturation. Nonetheless, it is clear that the Cayuá local groups have not been broken but in fact demonstrate much cohesion.

The Cayuá have not been obliged to turn to some alien economy for their mainstay but for the most part only to modify the relationship among different components of the aboriginal economy. Providentially this was possible with a minimum of stress through adopting white technological traits, principally several metal cutting tools of great agricultural utility. Other than that shift, which was one of degree rather than of kind, the major economic novelty has been agricultural and extractive wage-work for the settler. Even this, however, is limited in its effect. The full list of acculturational changes of the Cayuá is longer, as anyone who has followed the discussion this far will recognize, but those just mentioned include most of the factors of the primary list in the analysis.

Yet it would be easy to be wrong, in casting up an idea of the whole of Cayuá acculturation, if one were to conclude from the present cultural adjustment that the course of change in the past was unmarked by stormier times. The possibility of error is greater the less detail there is of the history of Cayuá contact with whites, and this sort of knowledge is distinctly limited. There are only one or two hints, which unavoidably remain unelaborated, of earlier sig-
[167] nificant acculturational difficulties. One is the fact that Cayuá migrations of a messianic order took place in the early middle 19th century (see pp. 51–54), and these migrations likely were connected with disturbing influences of white
[161] contact. The other hint is less certain and one for which no confirmation was found, that the birth rate of at least some groups of Cayuá was dropping dangerously at one time. Allegedly this went on until it reached such a point that the people themselves became concerned, whereupon they took deliberate
[168] steps to correct the situation. According to a local white woman, these steps included public exhortation of the women against the use of contraceptives

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and abortives, apparently with favorable results. This story may be without any foundation whatsoever—and probably is not literally true at best. But it is just possible that conditions existed at one time in Cayuá history which gave rise to such a truncated and apocryphal tale. It is our very uncertainty in this respect that urges the present caution against predicating much about earlier difficulties and disorganization in the history of Cayuá acculturation. Thus, though the modern Cayuá of Brazil appear to have emerged from their past with a relatively good adjustment of means and ends, this alone does not preclude the chance that the process was at other times more painful.

The primary factors of change mentioned above indeed do not seem sweeping or radical, and the present organization of the Cayuá suggests a tranquil acculturational adjustment; but a confrontation of secondary changes, nonetheless, makes the suggestion of earlier periods of stress appear at least a possibility. The scope of these changes is unmistakable. The secondary effects can be summarized for consideration here without tiresome repetition by considering them from the angle of the changing Cayuá concept of goods. This approach, in fact, might have been adopted before as a means of bringing out important changes and relationships, but it is characteristic of much of present social science analysis that what has been accomplished in one particular manner may equally well be achieved by another. Apparently, there is often no necessary or "natural" mode of treatment or point of departure: any one of a number will serve. In any case, the changing Cayuá concept of goods and its ramifications provides a sufficient key to how far the culture as a whole has changed from the aboriginal and a key for understanding the change.

The first question is: What at present constitute "goods" for the Cayuá? What items does this category include? Here, of course, we find numerous changes, both additions, such as trade goods, and displacements, such as certain types of aboriginal manufactures. If we also consider frequency of use, occurrence, and general significance of goods, more differences between aboriginal and modern goods are seen. Many old items which would still have to be listed as goods, since they are still recognized, are of such rare occurrence and small use as to be radically in contrast with the conditions of the past. Pottery or certain hunting products illustrate this. On the other hand, a number of innovations are of first rate importance, such as metal tools. The point could be elaborated further, each succeeding elaboration only serving to emphasize greater differences.

The second question: What is done to produce or obtain the various goods at present recognized? again reveals certain contrasts of degree and kind with the past. Wage-work, money purchase, and barter are all either relatively or absolutely different from the past as means of obtaining goods. Obviously certain technological operations are also different, even in the more traditional lines of activity, such as agriculture. Far-reaching differences are implied in

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the use and concept of money and of working for others exclusively for material reward.

The question: Who does the work of production? likewise underlines numerous differences from the past. There are qualitative and quantitative differences in the sexual division of labor, in the true division of labor, with present incipient specialization and alternatives, and in the matter of individual versus joint production by families and wider kinship groupings. Here, along with the changing economic roles of men and women, are shown the replacement of the extended by the elementary family as a producing unit, and the quasi-alternative of participation in different lines of economic endeavor, such as wage-work. These matters are interrelated with and widely ramify into further changes in Cayuá economic and social organization, such as the change in preferential marriage and the decline of polygyny.

Two other questions about the present Cayuá concept of goods in their implications nearly complete the remaining aspects of Cayuá acculturation so far recognized. One question concerns how the goods are distributed, to whom and in consideration of what obligations, exchanges, or reciprocities. The other, closely related to the first, is how modern Cayuá goods may be manipulated. These aspects of the present concept of goods would call for further discussion of the shift from extended to elementary family, the features of contemporary—and probably increasing—individualism, commercialism, the concept of money, and the sale of goods. Also involved are the decline of former gift exchange and mutual helpfulness in favor of economic rationalism, wage-work within the group itself, and money barter of goods to one's friends and kin.

Perhaps the only major secondary effect of the changes that were discussed in Chapter V, which is not included here by implication, is the change in political organization of the local group and the appearance of multiple factions. This change does not actually stand alone, of course, but it is less directly relatable to the changing Cayuá concept of goods, as a point of analysis.

From the foregoing it can readily be concluded that the Cayuá concept of goods has been much changed from the aboriginal. This is true in such matters as (1) what constitute goods, (2) what is done to produce or obtain goods, (3) who produces which goods, (4) to whom and why goods are distributed, and (5) how goods may be employed or manipulated. In each of these respects there are differences both of goods in particular and goods in general when the modern Cayuá are compared with the aboriginal. Taking as a point of departure the changing concept of goods in Cayuá acculturation, then, analysis reveals modifications which are ultimately very far-reaching. The differences which are highlighted appear radical enough to justify some consideration to the contrary of an orderly and tranquil Cayuá acculturation. The argument would be that, since the secondary changes are so extensive, com-

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pared to the aboriginal culture, the past may reasonably have been marked by periods or phases of considerable disorganization and stress. Here again the case for deciding between easy or difficult acculturation is not final and conclusive.

Two or three other known factors enter into the case and swing the balance once more to the opposite, however, in favor of the view of tranquil and relatively undisturbed acculturation. As was pointed out earlier, the longstanding Cayuá contact with whites has not been direct or intensive until very recently. Intensive contact of any sort probably did not begin until fairly effective white occupation of the lands of southern Mato Grosso, easily within the last fifty years. Effective penetration from Spanish lands to the south was inhibited by several factors, such as poor means of communication and access, the deflection elsewhere of political and economic interests, and a sparse colonial population. Mission influences of the Jesuit period, though significant, were again not direct or first hand. A very gradual and unhurried acculturation presumably would have resulted enhanced by the fact that white influences were mediated through intervening native groups of culture similar to the Cayuá. The latter factor supposedly had the effect of reducing Cayuá conflicts and disorganization. The general impression, therefore, is of a continuing and successful adjustment to new conditions which only by slow stages became a part of the Cayuá situation and, hence, which produced no crises.

Of course, it might be argued that for the very reason that the earlier contact of the Cayuá was so slow, indirect, and perhaps slight, it might well not have provided much background of acculturation with which to lessen the shock of ultimate direct and intensive contact. This would depend entirely upon the extent and kind of acculturation which had been realized by the time of direct contact, a point upon which information is not available. One can scarcely escape the conclusion, in any case, that some acculturation did occur prior to more recent and intensive contact, and it must almost inevitably have eased the path of later change.[illegible]

The balance of the argument favors the conclusion that Cayuá acculturation was on the whole slow, pacific, and unmarked by sharp conflicts or periods

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[illegible] This statement is not offered as a generalization for acculturation everywhere, but only as applied to the Cayuá case. In the example of the Great Plains of North America it might be argued that prior and indirect acculturational contact of the Indians had a result quite the opposite of facilitating later changes. The Plains Indians took over the horse and other elements as a result of early, mostly indirect influences. They thus turned to a way of life based upon the hunting of buffalo to an extent which would otherwise scarcely have been possible. The change from such a hunting way of life to the reservation settlement ultimately imposed can hardly be considered to have been easier than if the ultimate change had been imposed upon the type of culture aboriginally characteristic of the Plains. The Cayuá case is obviously not parallel since no demonstration whatever can be offered that early acculturation prompted or facilitated a way of life *less* amenable to later acculturational conditions than the aboriginal way of life.

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*177 of great stress; the culture, therefore, manifested at nearly all times a relatively
*178 high degree of organization. The possibility cannot be entirely ruled out, however, lacking historical data, that Cayuá acculturation may have been marked by moments of crisis. In consequence of this lack of fuller knowledge of its course, the question may legitimately be raised as to whether or how much we can discuss of Cayuá acculturation. The answer appears to turn about the type of analysis of acculturation which has been attempted in the present monograph.

A NOTE ON THE PROCEDURES EMPLOYED IN THIS STUDY

121 The point has just been stressed that full data are lacking for certain
128 important aspects of the acculturation of the Cayuá, specifically for such a question as whether the course of change was rough or smooth. A lack of in-
*177 formation on many related questions has also been noted throughout the
*178 paper. The problem raised by these lacunae is twofold: how was the information available treated to derive the conclusions which have been presented, and how much confidence may be placed in the results?

In the first place, many of the differences between the present and the aboriginal culture of the Cayuá can easily be appraised. Clear-cut qualitative or quantitative modifications stand out, even against the incomplete picture of the aboriginal culture that can be reconstructed; but lesser differences of degree, or perhaps even of kind, must be largely putative, or sometimes unwittingly ignored. So much for the mere roster of changes. Here the account is a much fuller one than in connection with the question of when particular events occurred and under what conditions. The argument of the present paper, therefore, has been much more heavily dependent on data of the former type than on the actual history of change. The data used, moreover, have largely determined the use made of them.

The analysis of Cayuá material, especially in Chapter V, has been characterized as "configurational." What does this mean? For one thing, chronology, either relative or absolute, plays little part in it. The occurrence of changes is noted and their causes are assigned, generally with no mention of either precise dates or the pre- or post-occurrence of other events. (In the Cayuá case, little or nothing usually can be said about the circumstances of such events anyway, other than in reference to the general circumstance or context of the culture to which or in which the events were occurring.) The configurational analysis dwells, first, on identifying factors of cause or effect, and, second, on establishing relationships among causes and effects. Causes of acculturation mean those changes in the total Cayuá environment initially traceable to the presence or influence of members of an alien, European society and which have produced changes in Cayuá culture. All such causes, then, are specifically defined as limited to changes in the situation as a direct conse-

quence of whites. Effects distinguished herein, of course, are of two kinds, pri- 121
mary or immediate, and secondary or derived, the latter reflecting the more
complete adjustment process or ramification of change within the indigenous 128
culture. Where possible, relationships among causes and effects are distin- 177*
guished as initiatory, on the one hand, or merely contributory, on the other.
This distinction is not possible in many cases, however, where chronology, 178*
which is usually a key, is unknown.

The configurational treatment has the result of telescoping chronological differences among acculturational trends and factors. The time of manifestation of effects, and the shifting relative effectiveness of causes are not, for the most part, the concern of the analysis. A sort of composite picture of the range and number of trends is thus presented and the several trends are traced only in their causal interrelationships.

Yet the configurational analysis cannot completely eschew chronology, since without it one is handicapped for the fullest possible discussion of causality. Where one factor or trend can be known to have manifested itself earlier than another, there are surer grounds for the assessment of a causal relationship. Temporal priority of a trend, however, does not completely determine causality, but it may be crucial to the question of whether a causal relationship is initiatory or merely contributory. For instance, there can be little doubt that the Cayuá bartering of surplus agricultural produce for trade goods is causally related to the increasing scale of agriculture. The priority of the increasing scale of agriculture as a trend, therefore, does not destroy the argument of a causal relationship, but it does establish that agricultural barter could only be contributory—not initiatory—to the former trend. The configurational analysis of Cayuá acculturation thus lays heavy emphasis upon the assessment of causal relationships, and, for this very reason, the few chronological data available, not in themselves primarily important, are used to help specify causal relationships among factors and trends.

In view of the discussion of causal relationship and chronology, two questions logically raised at this point are (a) how causes and effects are determined, and (b) how relationships among them are established. Practically, these questions are almost inseparable since it is partly with respect to the detection of a causal relationship that a cause is specified. The procedure actually begins with the study of effects of acculturation. Many of these are easily determined, as has been mentioned above, through comparison of the modern culture with the best available reconstruction of the aboriginal. The major effects thus stand out, though minor effects of acculturation may be overlooked. This much is fairly obvious and quite the standard procedure in acculturation study or in the study of culture change in general. Now causes, at least some of the more evident ones, might be specified from available history of the influence of whites upon Indians, as well as from the knowledge of

121 white culture, generally. But not every aspect of white culture, of course—
128 not even every cultural difference between it and the indigenous culture—
enters as a definable cause into the acculturation of the native group; and the
*177 history of contact is not a sufficient guide to causality without a joint consider-
*178 ation of what modifications actually occur in the native culture. Thus, in the specification of causes, the history of contact and the ethnography of the European group are always accompanied by the consideration of changes in Cayuá culture and of what possible relationships of causality pertain to them. Ultimately, therefore, one comes to the question of how causality is to be determined.

The method of determining the relationship between causes and effects of acculturation is implicit in much of the discussion of Chapter V. A number of considerations, logical, functional, and chronological-historical, enter in, as well as the projection of present relationships back into the past. Any or all of these considerations are raised for whatever light they may throw upon the nature and direction of trends. An example of a causal relationship predicated upon logical grounds is that between availability of the machete, as a cause, and its adoption and influence in the increasing scale of agriculture, as effects or phases of a trend (see p. 98). The functional consideration, which is closely akin to the logical, suggests the influence of the individualistic tendencies of wage-work, for example, upon joint economic usages of the extended family type (see pp. 108–109). The historical and chronological consideration indicates influence of the SPI upon the Cayuá, such as their assignment to reservations, and the centralization of political authority (see pp. 121–123). An illustration of projecting present relationships backward in time is the consideration of contemporary residence patterns in relation to the consequent need for shelters in some agricultural clearings (*paiois*). This present relationship is suggested as possible evidence of the origin of such shelters in Cayuá culture (see pp. 86–87). (The inherent dangers of projecting present relationships back into the past, by the way, are also well illustrated by the example of agricultural field shelters. The acculturational origin of these shelters could only be tentatively postulated in this manner, and was far from being proven.) These examples of the different considerations suggest how putative causes may be related, with varying degrees of certainty, to given effects of acculturation.

Two things remain to be pointed out about this method of establishing causality. First, in most actual cases no one of the foregoing considerations, logical, functional, historical, or reconstructive, would be employed singly; usually more than one is employed—all if possible. Bringing to bear various considerations upon a possible causal relationship, particularly if the indications lead to mutual confirmation, seems to hold a reasonable guarantee of correctness. This raises the second point, that there is no bias in favor of single

causes—quite the contrary. Indeed, most trends have been assigned more than 121
one cause. Moreover, there has been no general attempt, especially in doubtful
cases, to assess the relative importance or temporal priority of different causes 128
of a given trend or effect—whether they were related merely as contributory 177*
or as initiatory causes. If strong evidence is lacking, the analysis stops at 178*
merely indicating the presence of a causal relationship of unspecified importance, between two factors. Other than the lack of a prominent concern with chronology, therefore, the essential difference between the configurational analysis and conventional historical treatment may be the latter's constant assessment of relative causal importance.

The foregoing description of the method, or configurational analysis, employed in the present paper is not meant as an unqualified recommendation of it. The analysis has obvious shortcomings and is certainly not proposed as a substitute for a fuller and more conventional treatment of acculturation whenever the necessary data are to be had. As suggested earlier, the present approach to the study of Cayuá acculturation has been largely dictated by the fact that many data essential to a more conventional, historical treatment are actually unavailable. Without these data not only can less be done in the treatment of the problem, but at many points there can only be less confidence in the conclusions suggested. It was necessary, nevertheless, to employ an analysis which could make maximum use of the kind of data available. At the same time, the analysis had to be one which would be handicapped to the minimum by the lack of full historical information of the time and circumstances under which many critical acculturational events occurred. The configurational analysis, largely omitting the chronological element and questions of the relative causal importance of factors, is the result.

In spite of shortcomings, however, the analysis has some partly self-corrective qualities which compensate for whatever risk there may be in assessing causes without complete historical data. For one thing, all known effects of acculturation are listed insofar as the culture was studied. The listing of effects or changes is reasonably certain, of course, the only source of error being inaccuracy or incompleteness of information about the aboriginal and modern cultures. All discoverable and putative major causes of acculturation are similarly listed and are fairly reliable, depending upon history, white ethnography, and so forth. This much is practically all that some studies of acculturation attempt and it is probably of some use by itself. The "cement" or relationships of cause and effect is what has further been supplied by the present analysis, via the logico-functional-historical-reconstructive considerations described. The risk in this operation, however, is again limited since in doubtful cases no attempt is made to assess the relative importance of different causes mutually related to a given effect. Thus the analysis is somewhat modest in what it attempts with modest data.

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What does the configurational analysis accomplish and what are its limits? Given an emphasis on process, there appear to be two major problems of acculturation study. One of these has to do with the "Why?", so to speak, and the other with the "What?". The first problem is concerned with why the given causes, and only the given causes, were effective in producing change. In other words, why, of all the cultural differences, and hence potential causes of acculturation, between the donor and receptor cultures, do just the particular causes registered become effective? This appears to be a theoretical problem of the first water in the study of acculturation, but it has been largely ignored in the present monograph.

The second problem deals with what changes actually take place and the process through which they are realized. This has been the preoccupation throughout in the study of Cayuá acculturation. To this problem the configurational analysis seems fairly well adapted, and it highlights the direction of culture change. Considering present and past trends in their causation—as complete as possible—gives a fuller basis for prediction or extrapolation of known direction into the future. Present and past trends in the light of causal factors also provide a fuller understanding of the dynamic qualities of Cayuá culture. In this way can be seen the latent potentialities of the culture as revealed by their expression through time under these certain conditions. The synchronic study of a culture is, by contrast, truncated: it affords only a more limited idea of what sort of future or past is probable, and the element of control is necessarily foreshortened. Here then, if anywhere, is a vital contribution that studies of culture change, including acculturation, can make to the completer understanding of cultures in particular and culture in general. The configurational analysis represented in this monograph purports to make such a contribution if only one which is limited because of limited data.

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ERRATA

Figure 2, pp. 96–97, II.A.b., line two, should be "declines," not "decline." II.B.e., line two, should be "shift," not "shifts." On the extreme right-hand side of the table there should have been no line connecting II.B.d. and II.B.h., but II.B.a. should have been connected by lines to II.B.d. and to II.B.f.

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Pictures by courtesy of Chicago Natural History Museum. Photography by Virginia D. Watson.

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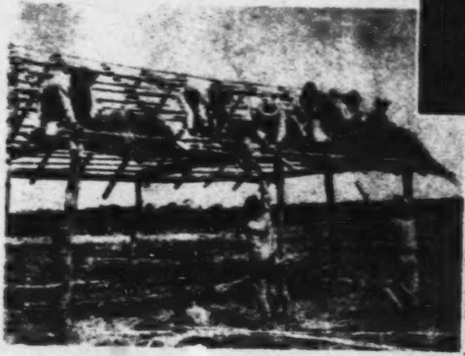
FIG. 1. Single remaining aboriginal-type *tapüi* at Taquapiri. Log tanks for *cäwï'* in center. Dance ground in left foreground. Corn for *cäwï'* cooking in iron pots on fire.

FIG. 2. Passing up tied bundles of thatch for roof, to be held in place under horizontal bamboo stringers. House location in open field not typical of Cayuá; house was for anthropologists. House style typical of present Cayuá.



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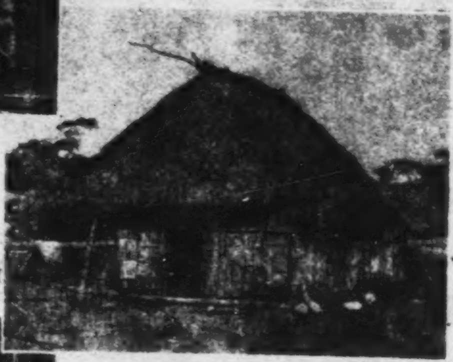

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FIG. 3. Modern style of Cayuá house with bamboo "board," sides, yet showing some *tapüi* influence in the back which is inclined and wholly of thatch. Squash ripening at side.

FIG. 4. Men of joint work group (*mbafirão*) clearing a *kokwé* for planting. They try to keep up with each other as the line of workers advances across the area to be cut over. Here second growth of about a year, small trees and brush, is being cut.

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FIG. 5. Burning off the slash—at the height of the fire. This slash was not as dry as some, and the result will not be a clean burn. Some trees are usually left standing.

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FIG. 6. Recently fired *kokué* with beans coming up amongst the fallen and charred trunks.

FIG. 7. In a *kokué*, making holes for planting cuttings of manioc. Hoe is the heavy type universally used.

FIG. 8. Woman planting corn with digging stick (*sarakuá*). Hole just made is at her feet. Four or five (but always the same number) grains are dropped in, taken only from middle of the ear. In the background, a bamboo grove.

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FIG. 9. Woman returning from clearing in forest (*kokué*) with back basket (*adjaká*) loaded with produce. In her right hand she brings firewood, in her left is the worn-out machete she uses to harvest with. Note tumpline on basket.

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FIG. 10. Four women pounding corn in coordination. As many as five sometimes do this. The occasion is the preparation of *cāwī* for a village-wide drinking fest to be held in about three days.

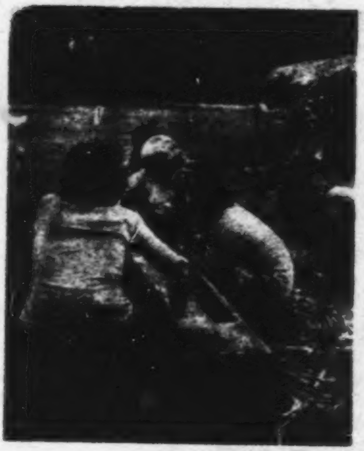

FIG. 11. Women masticating boiled, pounded corn for *cäwĩ'*. The mixture is still hot, too hot for comfort for the inexperienced. After chewing, each mouthful is returned to the mass.

FIG. 12. Woman straining small log tank batch of chicha (*cäwĩ'*) for home consumption. She uses a gourd dipper and Cayuá woven strainer.

FIG. 13. Convivial drinking group at small (not whole village) affair in connection with a *mbutirõ*. Like most other such affairs, it was marked by high spirits and much hilarity. No dancing usually accompanies these small *mbutirõ* the drinking phases of which are held during daylight hours, immediately following the work.

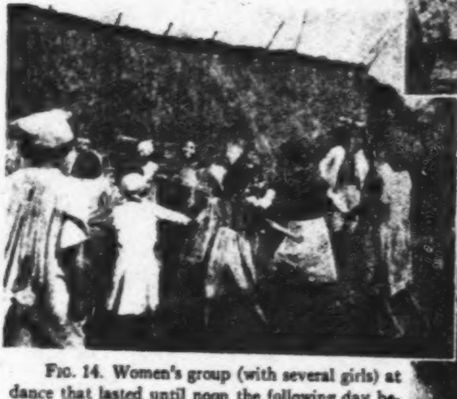

FIG. 14. Women's group (with several girls) at dance that lasted until noon the following day because *cäwĩ'* lasted until then. Note mother dancing with child on hip, a regular occurrence.

FIG. 15. Two large log tanks (also seen in Figure 1) in which *cäwĩ'* is fermented for village-wide drinking fests. Right-hand tank about 25 feet long, 3 feet outside diameter.

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FIG. 16. Mother and son just before noon meal. Note metal cooking tripod and iron pots, trade goods. Boy has toy bow and arrows.

FIG. 17. Nursing child and siblings. (Older boy's face is only dirty.)

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FIG. 19. Small boy getting drink from cup, water from gourd in left hand. Corner of house with bamboo "boards" is at right rear.

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FIG. 20. Young recent initiate wearing *tembetá* ("lip stone") of hardened resin. He was one of about five boys to be initiated just prior to our arrival at Taquapiri in 1943.

FIG. 18. Group of small-fry at play. The little girls all are clothed.

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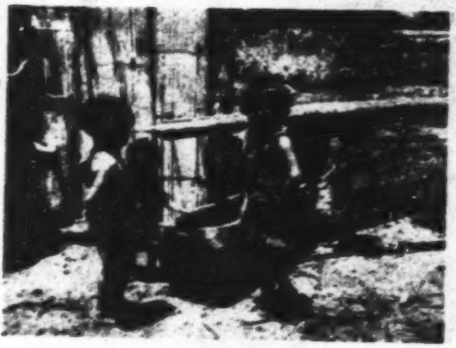

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[For reconstructed historical data, passim, see category 116, pp. 14-57 and 79.]

3: Watson

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[For recorded historical data, passim, see category 116, pp. 14 and 35-58.]

3: Watson

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For data on acculturation, passim, see category 116, pp. 9-16, 41-80 and 92-132.]

3: Watson

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[For data on socio-cultural trends, passim, see category 116, pp. 25, 62-92 and 124-132.]

[For the religious or shamanistic function of the paí or ñanderú, see also category 756.]

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[For information on the role of the capitão - captain, chief or leader of the village who is appointed by the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios - see category 624.]

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[For information on the role of the *paí* or *ñanderú* in the political structure of the community see also category 622.]